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A

TREATISE ON INDIGENCE;

EXHIBITING

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR PRODUCTIVE LABOUR;

WITH

PROPOSITIONS

FOR

AMELIORATING

THE

CONDITION OF THE POOR,

AND

Improving the moral Habits and increasing the Comforts of the LABOURING PEOPLE,

PARTICULARLY

The Rising Generation;

BY REGULATIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY,

CALCULATED

To prevent Poverty from descending into Indigence,

To produce Sobriety and Industry, to reduce the Parochial Rates of the Kingdom, and generally to promote the Happiness and Security of

THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE,

BY THE

Diminution of moral and penal Offences, and the future

PREVENTION OF CRIMES.

Vincit amor patriæ. VIRG. Æn. VI.

By P. COLQUHOUN, Esq. L.L.D.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author hazards this publication under an impression that the subject will be found to be handled in a manner in some respects new; and that its great importance, especially at this crisis, when the improvement of the condition of the Poor is likely to excite the attention of the Legislature, will plead his apology for bringing it under the review of the Public.

If it shall be found to contain any matter calculated to assist in promoting the great object in contemplation:—"the better management of the system of the Poor, and the diminution of moral and criminal offences," the Author will consider himself as amply rewarded for having, in any degree, contributed towards a great public measure, in which the vital interest, and the prosperity and happiness of his country are so materially concerned.

London, November 1806.

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TREATISE,

TREATISE,

&c.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is no subject connected with political economy either so difficult or so important to the nation at large, as the proper management of that branch of internal police which applies to those members of the body politic whose indigence exposes them to the miseries incident to the want of *shelter*, *food*, and *clothing*.

While many of the ablest and the best men whom this country has produced *, have, in the course of

* The following is a list of the chief part of the writers upon the poor in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries:

Lord Hale -	in 1676	Dr. Adam Smith -	1778
Andrew Yarington -	1676	Francis Maseres, Esq. -	1773
Thomas Firman -	- 1678	Dean Tucker -	- 1783
Sir Josiah Child -	- 1679	John Aucland -	- 1786
Mr. Locke -	- - 1696	William Godschall	- 1787
Samuel Darken -	- 1698	Thomas Gilbert -	- 1787
During the 16th and 17th centuries, from the year 1524 to the year 1676, no less than forty-nine works were published on the subject of the distresses of the poor.		Lord Kaims -	- 1788
		William Young, Esq.	- 1788
		Rev. J. Howlett -	- 1788
		Robert Applegarth	- 1790
		Thomas Ruggles, Esq.	- 1793
		David Davies -	- 1795
		Sir William Young	- 1796
		Rev. Mr. Townsend	- 1796
		John Vancouver, Esq.	- 1796
		Samuel Whitbread, Esq.	1796
		Right Hon. William Pitt	1796
		Sir Fred. Eden, Bart.	- 1797
		Jeremy Bentham, Esq.	- 1797
		William Sabatier, Esq.	1797
		John Hill, Esq. -	- 1801
		Rev. T. R. Malthus	- 1803
		Right Hon. Geo. Rose	- 1805
		Thomas Bernard, Esq. from 1796 to -	- 1806
John Carey, Esq. -	1700		
Daniel Defoe -	- 1704		
Mr. Hay, M. P. -	- 1735		
Henry Fielding, Esq.	1751-3		
Thomas Alcock -	- 1752		
Earl of Hillsborough	- 1753		
Sir Richard Lloyd	- 1753		
James Massey -	- 1758		
Doctor Burn -	- 1762		
Farmer's Letters -	- 1767		
Doctor Price -	- 1772		
Mr. Hanway -	- 1772		

Many anonymous and other authors have written treatises at

the last two centuries, employed their thoughts and communicated their ideas on the means of ameliorating the condition of the poor, without producing any salutary arrangement calculated to remedy the excessive evil against which all of them have declaimed, it may perhaps be thought presumptuous, if not unavailing, in the author of this work, to offer his sentiments on a subject of such extreme difficulty; but as a crisis appears to have arrived when it will probably be once more brought under the review of the Legislature, and as his public situation has afforded him many opportunities of practically considering this branch of police, in the course of a long and laborious attention to the duties of a magistrate in the metropolis, he feels confident that an excuse will be found in the candour of the public, for the attempt he now presumes to make of placing thus upon record whatever he has considered as likely to be useful on a subject of such incalculable importance to the best interests of his country.

In the following sheets it will be found, that the discussion, while it embraces every object that can elucidate a measure of such vital interest to the community, is at the same time as much com-

different periods during the two last, and some in the present century, on the subject of the poor, most of whom discover a great diversity of opinion. Although the chief part of the writers of the 17th and 18th centuries complain of the bad management and heavy burdens of the poor, how much would many of them be astonished if they lived in the present times!

pressed and abridged as its nature and importance would admit; and although it may be in many respects defective, yet by collecting most of the strong features of the subject in one connected point of view, and by introducing such ideas as practical observation has suggested, the author indulges a hope, that, upon the whole, the work will not be found destitute of a considerable degree of interest.

PRELIMINARY ELUCIDATIONS.

In contemplating the affairs of the poor, it is necessary in the first instance to have a clear conception of the distinction between *Indigence* and *Poverty*.

Poverty is that state and condition in society where the individual has no surplus labour in store, and, consequently, no property but what is derived from the constant exercise of industry in the various occupations of life; or in other words, it is the state of every one who must labour for subsistence.

Poverty is therefore a most necessary and indispensable ingredient in society, without which nations and communities could not exist in a state of civilization. It is the lot of man—it is the source of *wealth*, since without poverty there

would be *no labour*, and without *labour* there could be *no riches*, no *refinement*, no *comfort*, and no *benefit* to those who may be possessed of wealth—inasmuch as without a large proportion of poverty surplus labour could never be rendered productive in procuring either the conveniencies or luxuries of life.

Indigence therefore, and not *poverty*, is the evil. It is that condition in society which implies *want*, *misery*, and *distress*. It is the state of any one who is destitute of the means of subsistence, and is unable to labour to procure it to the extent nature requires. The natural source of subsistence is the labour of the individual; while that remains with him he is denominated *poor*: when it fails in whole or in part he becomes *indigent*.

The condition of man is susceptible of four material distinctions:

1. Utter inability to procure subsistence - - - } Indigence.
2. Inadequate ability - - } Indigence.
3. Adequate ability and no more - Poverty.
4. Extra ability, which is the ordinary state of man, and is the source of wealth.

But it may happen, and does sometimes happen in civil life, that a man may have ability to labour, and cannot obtain it. He may have labour in his possession, without being able to dispose of it.

The great desideratum, therefore, is to prop up

poverty by judicious arrangements at those critical periods when it is in danger of descending into indigence. The barrier between these two conditions in society is often slender, and the public interest requires that it should be narrowly guarded, since every individual who retrogrades into indigence becomes a loss to the body politic, not only in the diminution of a certain portion of productive labour, but also in an additional pressure on the community by the necessary support of the person and his family who have thus descended into *indigence*.

It is the province of all governments by wise regulations of internal police to call forth the greatest possible proportion of industry, as the best and surest means of producing national happiness and prosperity.

The poor in England, and indeed in all northern climates, have many indispensable wants not peculiar to southern countries—such as *fuel*, *clothes*, *bedding*, and *shelter from cold*. These are some of the physical causes which produce indigence and wretchedness, and render poverty worse in a state of civilization than in savage life.

But there are many other causes which produce *indigence* in a state of civilization, which it is physically impossible to avoid, and therefore a provision in some shape or other has been made in all nations for persons unable to procure the means of subsistence. In few instances, excepting in

England, has any legal claim upon the rich been established; but still the rich have indirectly supported the indigent, and this state of things will continue as long as civil society exists.

The important consideration is "*How to reduce the number of the indigent;*" and "*What measures ought to be pursued to prevent the poor who have labour to dispose of, from descending into this state of misery and inaction so injurious to the nation.*" The casualties of human life often produce *unavoidable indigence*, for which there is no remedy, while the vices of the people more frequently reduce them to that burdensome state, where no physical cause operates. That the attention may be more particularly directed to the causes *(innocent and culpable)* which reduce mankind to that condition which calls for the labour of others to support them, the following general view is submitted to the contemplation of the reader.

Innocent Causes of Indigence irremediable.

1. Insanity, incurable madness, weak intellects.
2. Deaf and dumb.
3. Blind.
4. Decrepit and lame.
5. Permanent inability to work.
6. Orphan children left destitute.
7. Infancy without support or protection.
8. Old age and infirmity.

Remediable Indigence requiring Props to raise it to a State of Poverty.

1. Temporary loss of work.
2. Absence from home in search of work.
3. Inability to obtain work.
4. Performance of work separated from a family.
5. Sudden discharge of bodies of labourers and handicrafts in manufactures, by failure of the principals or temporary stagnation.
6. Bodies of labourers discharged from canals and other public works when finished.
7. Gardeners, bricklayers, shoemakers, and other mechanics and labourers prevented from working during severe frosts.
8. A general stagnation of manufactures.
9. Scarcity and sudden advance of the necessaries of life.
10. Wives and children of soldiers embarked on foreign service.
11. Wives and children of marines and seamen in the public service.
12. Soldiers, marines, seamen, and militia discharged after war, and not immediately getting employment.
13. Servants out of place with good characters, but unable to obtain employment.
14. Temporary sickness where there is no surplus labour.
15. Lying-in expenses.—Idem.
16. Temporary lameness from hurts obtained, and inability to work for a time.
17. Funeral expenses of a wife or child.
18. Loss of a husband with a family.
19. Loss of a cow, horse, pigs, or other useful animals.
20. Loss by fire or other casualty.
21. Losses in trade producing bankruptcy without fault or reproach.

Culpable Causes of Indigence.

1. Vicious and immoral habits.
2. Idleness.
3. Laziness.
4. Indolence.
5. Sloth.
6. Carelessness.
7. Thoughtlessness.
8. Improvidence.
9. Prodigality.
10. Unnecessary waste.
11. Want of frugal habits.
12. Want of economy and management.
13. Indifference as to what may happen, apathy and sottishness.
14. Dissipation.
15. Habitual drunkenness.
16. Abandoning a helpless family.
17. Trusting to parish maintenance.
18. Wasting earnings in alehouses.
19. Making no provision for a family having the means, or making inadequate provision.
20. Servants losing character and place for fraudulent and pilfering practices, and bad behaviour.
21. Female prostitution, producing loss of character, disease, and the means of obtaining work.
22. Contracting debts without ability to pay.
23. Fraudulent bankruptcy, and consequent loss of credit and confidence.
24. Fraudulent lottery insurance, producing loss of character.
25. Systematic idleness, leading the lives of gypsies, and others wandering as such, and assuming their manners.
26. Systematic criminality in all its numerous ramifications, producing a total loss of character.

In considering the innocent causes of indigence thus exhibited in one collected view, it will be seen that the cases requiring *constant and permanent support* are few in number compared with those where well-timed props would restore to society great multitudes who, it is much to be feared, under the present system of management, become permanent burdens on the public. Culpable indigence can scarcely find any remedy except in the improvement of the morals of the vulgar.

The labouring people are certainly exposed to many casualties from which the higher orders of society are shielded: to damps and cold contracted by working in wet weather—by the want of a change of raiment—deficient bed-clothes—cold rooms and cottages—hurts—wounds—and other accidents peculiar to their situation as out-door labourers; and therefore they require medical and surgical assistance more frequently than others whose occupations expose them less to the inclemency of the weather. In disposing therefore of their labour (their only stock in trade), they are not on a footing with other classes of the community, since they are liable to contract various diseases, and often suffer much from want of proper medical assistance, and other necessary comforts, which those of a higher rank enjoy. Nothing can exceed, on many occasions, the sufferings of this useful class, upon which the strength, stamina, and riches of the country depend. And, indeed,

it is none of the least of the evils which attend this condition in society, that the *innocent indigence* has on most occasions been confounded with the *culpable*. When parochial relief becomes necessary there is seldom any discrimination. The virtuous labourer, broken down by some temporary misfortune, is not restored by a judicious and adequate administration of occasional aid to his former state of independent poverty; but is often forced to herd in a workhouse with the idle and the dissolute; and thus, when the virtuous and the industrious poor, by misfortunes not imputable to misconduct, descend into indigence, their treatment and situation are seldom better than those of the dregs of society who have been reduced to the same state by their vices and their crimes. The *cause* which produced this retrograde station is seldom considered. *Innocent* and *criminal indigence* share the same fate; and hence it follows that the morals of the poor are corrupted, particularly in large towns, through the medium of the national institutions and asylums which have been provided for their relief and improvement in habits of virtue and religion.

It will be seen in the course of this work, that a very large proportion of the mass of indigence which afflicts society, is to be traced to the bad education, and particularly to the vicious and immoral habits of the inferior ranks of the people chiefly contracted in populous cities and large towns. La-

bourers in agriculture and handicrafts, whose cases are most susceptible of renovation, when by casualty or misfortune they descend into a state of indigence, ought to be peculiar objects of attention.

It seems to be an axiom (not to be disputed) that the wages of the labourer should be somewhat more than is sufficient to maintain himself and a medium family, otherwise this useful class could not last beyond a single generation. They must either cease to procreate children, or the mass of labourers who do not remain in a state of celibacy must unavoidably descend into indigence, and become a burden upon the community.

The wages of labour ought certainly to find their level in the natural course of things; and while it is one of those difficult subjects upon which it is scarcely possible to ground any legislative system, it is at the same time (since this class comprises nearly two thirds of the population) a matter of the utmost importance to discover a remedy for those fluctuations, arising from a variety of causes, which produce indigence not imputable to any vicious propensity or culpable conduct.

While the wages of labour differ in almost every part of the kingdom, it will be found that the highest rates will produce indigence in one district, while the lowest will afford a decent subsistence in another. The more frugal habits which prevail in the northern counties, joined to a superior knowledge of the culinary art, enable the cottagers

to live better, and to enjoy the comforts arising from a greater variety of food, on much lower wages than their southern fellow-subjects receive, who, although they eat wheaten bread, upon the whole fare infinitely worse, and work equally hard.

The obstruction to that species of competition which produced an unequal price for labour in districts at no great distance from one another, is in some respects removed by the improvements in the law of settlements; but it may be worth consideration whether legislative obstructions to its free circulation do not still exist, since, if labour is restrained, it never can be expected to find its true level.

It may be also worthy of inquiry, whether undue means are not sometimes used to prevent the wages of labourers in agriculture from reaching their natural level, in proportion to what is paid for the labour of persons in other occupations of life, where the competition has a freer and a more extended scope.

Considering the rapid and progressive increase of all the productions of the soil, it should seem evident that the agricultural labourer ought at least to receive that portion of the profits of his own industry which shall enable him with frugality to support his family without calling (except in extreme cases) on the parish for relief.

If ever (as has been alleged) the parochial funds have been resorted to for the purpose of

preventing a rise of wages to their natural level, in proportion to the advance in the price of articles of the first necessity, such a system of collusive fraud upon the community at large deserves the severest reprehension.

It is perhaps not too much to say, that the farming capital of England experienced an increase of little short of forty millions sterling in the years 1800 and 1801 *, in consequence of the advance in the price of grain having so greatly exceeded the quantum of loss arising from the deficiency of the crops of 1799 and 1800. This circumstance must have given a considerable spring to agriculture in every part of the country; and while a more extensive cultivation must afford a greater resource for the employment of the labourer, the ability of the farmer is also increased, with respect to an adequate remuneration.

In every country the free circulation of labour is of the greatest importance, as it regards the interest of the virtuous poor, and perhaps the chief barrier against a state of indigence; while rating of wages by legislative authority destroys that principle which produces competition, and will often prove unjust, since it places the athletic and industrious workman on the same footing with the feeble and the lazy, while (excepting in piece-work) there is no encouragement for exertion.

* See note, page 26.

The whole annual produce of the land and labour of England divides itself into five parts, viz.

1. The landlord's rent and land-tax,
2. The tithes,
3. The parochial rates,
4. The labourers' wages,
5. The profit on the farming stock, or capital employed.

It is by the exertion of the labourer, aided by the capital employed, that the profit is derived and the community enriched and supported. It is the labourer also that produces the means of paying the parochial rates: at the same time the interest of those who live by labour is as closely connected with the benefit of society as those who live by rent, or profits derived from the capital employed *.

The landholder, however, on most occasions, supports the adventitious burdens. In proportion as the parochial rates advance, his rent ultimately diminishes. Nothing can exceed the inequality in this respect in different districts of the kingdom. While upon the whole, in 14,611 parishes and places in England and Wales, the parochial rates do not average more than 2*s*. 10*d*.

* In civil society, labour can only be rendered productive to the owner by the force of capital, combined with skill, enterprise, and industry on the part of the employer: the obligation is therefore mutual, and the labouring people of every nation are comfortable or distressed in proportion to the extent of capital employed in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

in the pound on £38,000,000 ascertained by the returns from the Tax-office in 1804 to be the rental of *real property* in England and Wales, including mines, canals, &c.; it is to be lamented, that in not a few of the parishes the increase of the rates has been so excessive as, when united with the land-tax and tithes, to amount almost to a disinherison of the property of the landholder *. In this point of view the poor rates are a serious evil. The nation may be considered as a large family. Those who have surplus labour in store are bound to support and assist that portion of the community who become indigent, and have not the means of support; since none, according to the common law and the law of humanity, *must starve outright*, or *gradually*; and since also it is evident, beyond all doubt, that many must starve if no provision were made against the casualties incident to a state of civilization;—but should not the principle of equal distribution of burden apply in this case as in all others where revenue is concerned? Such a principle would promote a free circulation of labour, and would allay all complaints, and relieve those

* In Essex, Kent, Sussex, and some other counties the rates advanced to 20*s*. 30*s*. and even in some instances to 40*s*. in the pound on the rack rent, during the scarcity in 1801. And it became a question with an individual, who had expended in one parish £800, on a house and nursery-ground, whether it would not be more for his interest to surrender the whole property to the parish than to pay the assessment.

pressures, by which individuals possessed of landed and other property are so grievously burdened, while by the nation at large it would scarcely be felt; since, notwithstanding the vast increase of the poor rates, the average does not quite amount to one seventh part of the rental of the real property of the kingdom. It is however admitted, that this is by far too much; but it is not the only loss the nation sustains, since, independent of the perversion of perhaps a full half of an annual assessment, amounting to nearly £4,800,000 sterling, the loss sustained in the deficient labour of upwards of 400,000 adults, exclusive of about 167,000 aged persons above sixty *, and 473,718 children, supported partly or wholly by the parishes, is immense; since it is highly probable, that the labour of the adults, who are in a situation to work, if properly directed, would produce considerably more than four millions yearly.

Looking at the various resources which England possesses exceedingly beyond any country in Europe for the employment of her population, and considering that these resources are increasing in

* In consequence of a return procured by the author from fifty-five workhouses, in and near the metropolis, at the desire of a respectable writer on the subject of longevity, it appeared, that in 1805, there were then alive 113 men and 358 women, making in the whole 471 persons, who had arrived at the great age of eighty and upwards; and of these 5 had reached 100 years.

consequence of the progressive, and in some instances the rapid accumulation of her *agricultural*, *commercial*, and *manufacturing* capitals, it should seem that the evil is to be traced to other causes besides those which simply apply to the want of the means of employment; and while it is admitted that occasional pressures may produce indigence, even where the greatest resources exist; it is the object of the author, in the course of this work, to endeavour to investigate the other sources of evil and misfortune from which has sprung this gangrene in society.

But in order more clearly to comprehend the subject, and to afford the necessary aids to an accurate discussion, it will be necessary to look back to the state of society a century ago, and to compare it with the present æra: this perhaps will be best effected by introducing the following table, framed in the year 1688, by Mr. Gregory King (who has been acknowledged by all political arithmeticians to have been extremely accurate in his researches), and to contrast this general view with the state of society in England at the present period, as far as the disclosures recently made through the medium of the Parliamentary returns, and other sources of information, on a subject so extremely intricate, shall render such a comparison practicable.

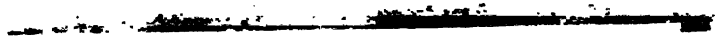
If labour and research, in an investigation so

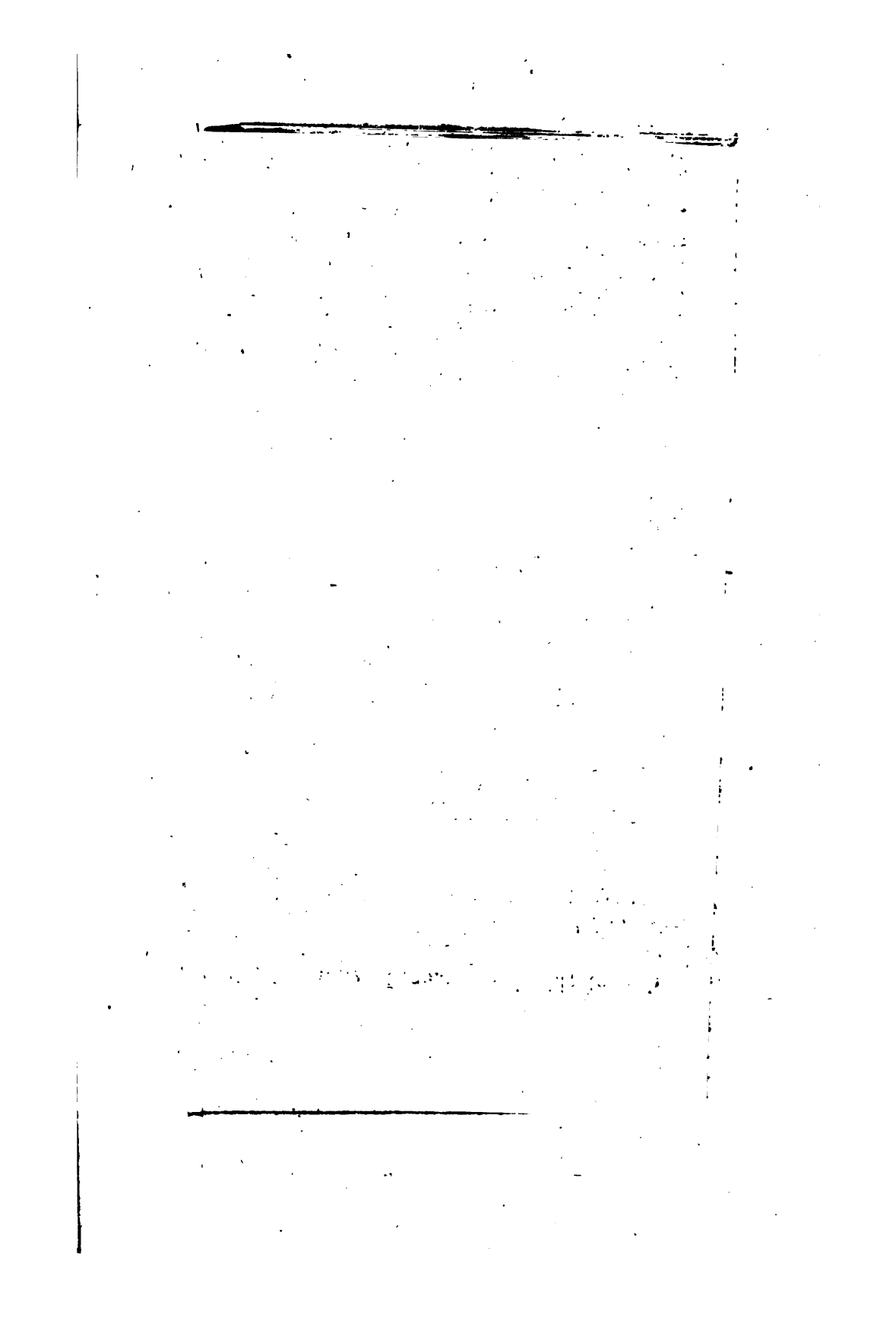
varied and perplexing, could produce accuracy, the object would in this instance be attained; but in a first attempt to exhibit, in one collected view, the various and ramified sources in detail, producing the great aggregate which forms the national income, it is scarcely to be expected that the whole can be pointedly correct, while in many instances the data can only be found in a great variety of intricate calculations.

By connecting sources of national income and the springs of industry and enterprise with the known population of the country, a chart is thus formed of the state of society in 1803, compared with what existed in 1688, one hundred and fifteen years ago; and great as the accession of wealth may appear to be, on a comparison of the two statements, there cannot exist a doubt of its reality to the fullest extent which is exhibited as to the aggregate amount of the national income.

In thus contemplating the different sources of mental and corporal labour, of skill, enterprise, and perseverance, which have produced such an extraordinary result, the author is in a great measure supported in the opinions he has formed by the ablest political economists of the present æra. He has endeavoured, in the view he has taken of this interesting subject, to steer between the two extremes of the too sanguine economists on the one hand, and the too desponding on the other; and whatever im-

perfections may be discovered in the distribution, and the average estimates of income assigned to each class, he is confident that upon the whole the property annually created by the national industry and capital is rather under than over rated.





The table thus brought under the review of the reader, while it exhibits the proud height to which the nation has arrived, must tend in an eminent degree to quiet the feelings of despondency, excited by a partial view of this interesting subject, while at the same time it forms a strong ground of exultation, triumph, and confidence to the nation at large.

The object of this investigation has been chiefly to discover the national resources for a more enlarged and useful employment of the poor *; and by a general exhibition of all the different branches of industry and enterprise, greater than exist in any other country in the world, to guide the attention to the best means of improving the state of society, as it relates to that useful class of the community, whose well-directed labour, when put in motion by capital and skill, is the only source of wealth and prosperity, in every government where the civil compact exists.

To the statesman, the political economist, and the public in general, the subject, even in the compressed point of view in which it has been placed, cannot fail to be interesting, since it presents to the mind a short and collected exhibition of the different sources from whence the national

* The subject is of so extensive a nature, that the limits of this work will not admit of that full and ample discussion which its importance requires: the author feels a strong inclination to bring it forward in a separate treatise, if his public duties hall enable him at some future period to devote sufficient time for so interesting a work.

income is derived; which, notwithstanding its numerous and intricate ramifications, are, in fact, confined solely to *five branches of industry*, aided by capital, skill, and labour; namely, *Land, Manufactures, Fisheries, Foreign Commerce*, and *Colonial and East India Remittances* to persons residing in England, from labour performed beyond sea. In order more fully to shew that the property of the nation is only created through these respective mediums, the following illustration of this interesting subject is submitted to the attention of the reader.

1. *Land.*

The cultivation of the soil, while it affords the principal resource for human labour, and furnishes the means of subsistence to man, and every animal that exists, ranks first, in all countries, in point of importance, and value.

By the combination of capital * and agricultural skill, with a large portion of human labour, an immense property is created annually in England and Wales †; the cost of which in the first in-

* The agricultural capital cannot at this period be estimated at less than £165,000,000. That able and correct political economist the Rev. Dr. Beeke supposed it to amount to £125,000,000, in the year 1800, since which it has been increased at least forty millions (see page 16).

† Mr. Middleton, in his Survey of the County of Middlesex, calculating upon 46,916,000 acres in England and Wales, values the aggregate produce at £126,720,000; but as it has been since discovered, that the calculation should have been

stance, including the landlord's rent, the tithes, taxes, labour, and other expenses, with the farmer's profit, cannot fairly be estimated at less than one hundred millions sterling a year, arising from the produce of *wheat*, *barley*, *rye*, *oats*, *beans*, *peas*, *hops*, *mustard*, *rape*, *hemp*, *flax*, and also other vegetable substances used in dying and medical preparations; also *hay*, *straw*, and much grass, producing *horses*, *horned cattle*, *sheep*, *hogs*, *deer*, *rabbits*, *poultry*, and other animals tame and wild; and these cattle and sheep and other animals reproducing *milk*, *butter*, *cheese*, *eggs*, *feathers*, and *wool*, also *animal food*, *raw hides*, *horn*, *bone*, and *tallow*.—To which are to be added, the vegetables raised in gardens and in fields; the produce of *fruit-trees*, *shrubs*, and *plants*; the *barren timber* cut yearly and rendered productive property; and the fish caught in rivers and streams, which intersect the country.

Mines and Minerals.

The bowels of the earth, in this highly favoured

only made on 37,334,400 ‡ statute acres (see page 58); this calculation admits of a deduction, which will reduce the estimate of the value in the hands of the farmer to about £100,000,000 a year.

‡ Supposed to be thus distributed:

Arable land — — — —	11,500,000
Hops, nurseries, and gardens —	100,000
Pastures, &c. — — —	16,500,000
Hedges and copse — — —	1,500,000
Common wastes — — —	6,000,000
Ways and waters — — —	1,734,400
Total acres	37,334,400

country, also produce articles, which, by labour chiefly, create a large annual property in *coals, tin, copper, lead, iron, salt, alum, limestone, chalk, slate, building stone, gravel, sand* for building and for glass-works, *clay* for bricks and potteries; and also other substances, rendered valuable by chemical and other preparations; all which raw materials, when combined with corn, cattle, sheep, and other articles, prepared ultimately either for the consumer, through the medium of the middle men or dealers, or for the manufacturer, must upon the whole, after making large allowances, produce from the last purchasers at least £106,000,000 yearly at the present time.

2. *Manufactures.*

The rapid and progressive increase of manufacturing labour is not confined to one or more branches of this species of national industry, but pervades the whole. By thus combining competent skill, ingenuity, and enterprise, with human labour, in converting various raw materials, partly the produce of the soil and partly imported from foreign countries, a property is yearly created, which (after deducting the expense of the raw materials used, and adding thereto the increased value arising from the profits of the manufacturer, and the labour of all classes of mechanists, handicrafts, labourers, warehousemen, and shopkeepers, assigned either to prepare or ultimately to convey these fabricated

articles to the exporters on the one hand, or the consumer at home on the other) cannot be estimated at less, for England and Wales, than £86,000,000 *, produced by labour and capital alone. On an average of four years, between 1802 and 1805, the actual value of British manufactures exported was £42,505,000. If two thirds are supposed to be retained for home consumption, the gross amount, according to these data, would be £127,515,000! The allowance therefore for *wool*, *cotton*, *silk*, *leather*, and other raw materials used in these manufactures appears to be very ample.

A respectable and intelligent manufacturer, examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1800, valued the produce of the woollen manufacture at £19,000,000 a year. Mr. M'Arthur, in 1803, estimates the whole, including the fine fabrics from foreign wool, at £25,560,000.

The cotton manufacture has advanced with the most rapid strides, and may now be supposed to approach to nearly £14,000,000. Leather has also become a prodigious article, perhaps not less in point of extent than cotton.

* Sir Frederick Eden, a most able and accurate political economist, estimates the total value of British manufactures, at all times in possession of the venders, as an insurable property, equal in value to £116,000,000. The quantity and value of several articles, particularly beer, has much increased since this estimate was made.

The manufactures comprised within this estimate are those fabricated from *wool, cotton, flax, hemp, silk, horse-hair, fur, and straw for hats, &c.*; *feathers, leather, paper, paste-board, paper-hangings, books and printing*; *plate, flint, crown, broad, and green glass*; *china, porcelain, earthen-ware, tiles, bricks, and other articles produced from potteries*; *hardware, cutlery*, and other articles fabricated from *iron, steel, copper, tin, lead, brass, pewter*, and other mixed metals: also *gold, silver, precious stones, jewellery, and watches*; *gunpowder*; *white lead and other painter's colours*; *turpentine, linseed, rape, and other oils*; *cuthber, and other dye stuffs*, made by chemical and other processes; *drugs, perfumes, &c.*; *mustard, glue, turnery ware*, comprising various articles made of *ivory, bone, horn, ebony, and other woods*; *musical instruments*; *household furniture*; *coaches, carriages, waggons, carts*, &c.; and houses built and repaired in each year. To which are added, articles manufactured, which employ much capital and labour, chiefly producing revenue, namely, *porter, beer* *, *gin and*

* It appears from an authentic document, that 1,454,192 barrels of porter and strong ale, and 441,320 small beer, were brewed in London, by 20 principal and 126 lesser brewers, in the year ending 1 July 1806; amounting, at the sale price, to £4,440,384, being for 68,238,432 gallons, at the average rate of about 1*s.* 3*d.* a gallon. The annual consumption of this beverage must now exceed £12,000,000 a year, including that brewed by private brewers, and home-made spirits about £5,000,000.

other spirits, sweets, cider, perry, refined sugar, soap, starch, wax and tallow candles, salt, and tobacco.

3. *Fisheries.*

The national income arising from the employment of capital and enterprsie, but chiefly maritime labour in the various fisheries round the coast, thereby creating a property, arising from the accession of this species of food, consumed by the people, cannot be estimated at less, for labour and capital, after all deductions, than *one million sterling*. The nautical labourers in this branch of industry may probably amount to about 10,000.

4. *Foreign Commerce, Shipping, and Fisheries.*

The number of ships employed in this trade have nearly doubled in tonnage in the course of the last twenty years. Those belonging to England and Wales may be estimated at about 2,000,000 of tons, employing above 130,000 maritime labourers, or seamen.

The imports and exports have increased in the same proportion. They may be estimated together at the enormous sum of nearly £110,000,000 a year. The capital employed in this trade may be fairly estimated at this time at £90,000,000; and this capital, combined with the skill and enterprise of the merchants, and the labour of the seamen, clerks, artificers, and others engaged in this trade, creates a property which augments the national income at least £25,000,000 a year.

5. *Colonial, East India, and Foreign Possessions.*

From these sources it has been calculated that four millions sterling a year, of clear property, are added to the national income by remittances to British subjects residing in England.

Recapitulation.

	£
1. Property created from labour and capital employed in agriculture and mines, &c. - - -	106,000,000
2. Property arising from labour and capital in manufactures of all kinds - - - -	86,000,000
3. Property arising from labour and capital in home fisheries -	1,000,000
4. Property arising from nautical and other labour and capital employed in foreign trade and shipping	25,000,000
5. Property arising from possessions out of Great Britain or Ireland	4,000,000
Total estimated net annual income of the nation, according to this mode of calculation -	£222,000,000

But great as the national resources appear, and increasing as they are proved incontestably to be, from the progressive augmentation of the demand for British manufactures, and the extensive exportations to every country in the world; while the contemplation of a system of useful industry, productive of so much wealth, cannot fail to com-

municate sensations of pleasure to the mind; a considerable degree of pain must also be excited on discovering that so large a proportion of the community has descended into indigence, while the nation is at the same time afflicted by another numerous class, rendered noxious, offensive, and even dangerous, in consequence of depraved morals and criminal turpitude.

On comparing the state of society in this respect with that exhibited by Mr. Gregory King, 115 years ago, it is impossible not to be forcibly struck with the marked difference which a century has produced.

He, indeed, mentions 400,000 families who are denominated *cottagers* and *paupers*, supposed by him to earn £6 10*s*. a family yearly; and to require 5*s*. a head for 1,300,000 persons, amounting to £325,000 a year, to make up the deficiency; but he does not distinguish what proportion of this class received parochial relief: it could not however extend very far in the way of support, as the rates at that period do not appear to have amounted to £700,000 a year *.

It is probable that the indigent of the present period (including all descriptions) are not only upon the whole less moral; but also, from more dissolute habits, less frugal, than a century ago: and there is no doubt also, that they experience more attention, and much greater assistance than was afforded to the same class at that period; yet, notwithstanding the

* ee page 36.

enormous sums expended, it has been already seen, and will be further disclosed in the progress of this work, how much the evil has increased, and also the mass of turpitude which envelopes the chief part of the indigent who are assisted or supported by parochial assessments and private benevolence.

It is a generally received observation, that wherever riches are placed in one scale, the apparent good is counterbalanced by an increased quantum of profligacy and crimes in the other: excessive luxury and dissipation—an indulgence in all those gratifications which too often afford a momentary pleasure followed up by permanent pain; holding out examples to the thoughtless and inconsiderate to follow courses of extravagance which they cannot support, and producing ultimately the miseries of a prison, the pursuits of a gaming-table, or criminal delinquency, as a resource for subsistence.

The force of example works its way through all ranks of society, while in the superabundant circulation of riches, the gains of the low gambler, the swindler, the common prostitute, and the criminal offender, increase as the wealth of the nation is augmenting. It descends even to the lowest classes of society, who indulge in luxuries little known a century ago *. Those who have been carelessly or viciously educated, or who, from habits of idle-

* *Tea, sugar, tobacco, malt liquor,* and *corn spirits,* are now immense articles of consumption among the inferior classes of society: taking quantity and value together, they have perhaps increased twenty fold in the course of a century.

ness, are indisposed to labour, find by various means a source of subsistence produced by an extensive circulation of property, diverted into numerous channels, where even the highway robber and the burglar are enabled to live, by various devices, which did not heretofore exist, and which they naturally prefer to the risks attending the extortion of money by acts of violence constituting capital offences; and hence it is that such offences have been gradually diminishing within the last fifty years; while the general turpitude of the idle and dissolute is increasing every day in other channels, equally injurious to the privileges of innocence, although in its aspect less terrific.

In contemplating the state of the indigent, there is perhaps more to be dreaded from the increasing depravity of manners than from the great expense incurred in supporting them, enormous as it certainly is,—and rapid as its growth has been within the last fourteen years.

Like the progress of vice and dissipation, it seems to have kept pace with the increase of the wealth and commerce of the country, as will be seen from the following table.

TABLE, *shewing the progressive Rise of the Poor's Rate, Revenue, national Debt, and Commerce, from 1673 to 1803—being 130 Years.*

	Years.	Poor's Rate.	Years.	Revenue.	Years.	National Debt.	Years.	Custom-house Value of Cargoes exported.	Population.
		£.		£.		£.		£.	
*	1673	840,000	Average in						
*	1677	608,333	Charles II.'s	1,800,000	—	— —	1663	2,043,043	5,000,000
*	1677	700,000	Reign.				1669		
*	1685	665,362	1689	2,001,855	—	— —	1688	4,086,087	5,000,000
*	1698	819,000	— —	— —	1689	664,263	1697	3,525,907	5,400,000
*	1700	1,000,000	1701	3,895,285	1701	16,394,702	1700	6,045,432	5,475,000
*	Queen Anne's Reign.	1,000,000	1710	5,691,803	1714	54,145,363	1709	5,913,357	5,240,000
†	1751	3,000,000	1759	8,523,540	1748	78,293,313	1749 1751	12,599,112	6,467,000
*	1776	1,720,316	1776	10,265,405	1775	135,943,051	1776	14,755,699	7,600,000
‡	1783 1784 1785	2,167,749	1786	15,096,112 Gross	1784	257,213,043	1786	16,300,725	8,016,000
‡	1803	5,348,205	1783	37,996,088	1803	567,050,606	1783	34,953,000	9,000,000

* The first seven sums under the column Poor Rates, are given on the authority of different writers, and can be considered as nothing more than *estimates*, although from the accuracy of many of the authors they are supposed to be pretty near the truth.

† The price of grain was very high in the year 1751. Mr. Alcock, a respectable writer of that period, states, that the whole sum laid out on the poor for four years preceding 1752, amounted at a medium to £3,000,000 a year.

‡ The last three sums are taken from the Parliamentary Returns.

Thus it appears that the revenue, the national debt, and the commerce of the country, have nearly kept pace with the advance in the rates for the support of the indigent; but these rates have of late years far outstretched the increase of the population; and, indeed, it must be a matter of astonishment to all Europe, how such a population, which (including the increase from 1801 to 1803) can scarcely be supposed to exceed nine millions of people, constantly resident in England and Wales, can support such an establishment.

While so large a proportion of the people * are wholly or partly fed and clothed at the expense of the public, whose labour is totally unproductive to the state, the industry and enterprise of those who support them are certainly beyond all ex-

* *The following results are extracted from the Parliamentary Abstracts in* 1803:

Paupers relieved out of work-houses, not including children — —		336,199
Pauper children under 5 years relieved	120,236	
Pauper children from 5 to 14 years relieved — — —	194,914	
		315,150
Paupers relieved in work-houses, including children — — — —		83,468
		734,817
Paupers, supposed chiefly to be mendicants, occasionally relieved — — —		305,899
	Total	1,040,716

ample in the history of the world. With what astonishment would the writers of the 17th and the early part of the 18th centuries, who exclaimed so vehemently against the excessive burdens of the poor, behold the present state of things! The evil is, notwithstanding, as excessive as the means of finding an effectual remedy are difficult.

The calamity is also greatly heightened, not so much by the contemplation of the casualties and misfortunes, and, in many instances, the corruption of morals which have produced this mass of *indigence*, as by the numerous ramifications of moral depravity, which are disclosed in the following collected view of the different classes whose vices and criminal pursuits also render them a burden on the innocent and industrious part of the community.

1. *Indigent persons* already stated to be objects of parochial relief — · —	1,040,716
2. *Mendicants*, comprising *indigent and distressed beggars, sturdy beggars, trampers*, persons pretending to have been *in the army and navy*, lame and maimed, travelling all over the country, and using many devices to excite compassion, estimated, including their children, at about	*50,000
Carried over	1,090,716

* His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department having authorized Matthew Martin, Esq. of Westminster, to ascertain the state of mendicity in the metropolis, he

Brought over	1,090,716
3. *Vagrants*, under which description are to be included gypsies, and another race of vagabonds who imitate their manners, although not of that community, now become pretty numerous, wandering about the country with jack-asses, sleeping in the open air under hedges, and in huts	
Carried over	1,090,716

followed up his inquiries for several years with the most meritorious zeal and perseverance, until the end of the year 1802, when his report, which was published in March 1803, disclosed the following interesting facts:

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
1. That the mendicants belonging to parishes in the metropolis and its vicinity who solicited alms in the streets, amounted to — — —	2541	4152	6693
2. Vagrants belonging to distant parishes having settlements — —	1137	1467	2604
3. Irish vagrants having no settlements	2037	3273	5310
4. Scotch vagrants, idem — —	195	309	504
5. Foreign vagrants, idem — —	90	87	177
	6000	9288	15,288

Mr. Martin estimates the sums extorted from the public by the above mendicants at £97,126 a year—thus:

	£.	s.	d.
6000 adults at 6*d.* a day each, lodging and clothes inclusive — — —	54,750	0	0
9288 children at 3*d.* a day, idem —	42,376	0	0
	97,126	0	0

He supposes however that the professed and systematic beggars seldom obtained less than 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a day on an average, and he estimates the number of this class at 2000 at all times, who lay the public under contribution to the extent £300 per diem, or about £90,000 a year!

Brought over	1,090,716
and tents, loving idleness better than work, and stealing wherever opportunities offer:—including wives and children, this class cannot amount to less, in every part of the country, than — —	20,000
4. *Idle and immoral persons*, who are able to work, but who work only occasionally, who neglect their families, and either desert them totally, or loiter away their time idly in alehouses, and half support them, leaving the deficiency to be scantily made up by the parishes—this class of depraved characters are pretty numerous, and in the whole country must exceed —	10,000
5. *Lewd and immoral women*, who live wholly or partly by prostitution. It is impossible to ascertain their number in every part of the kingdom: but when it is considered how much female prostitution has increased in all the provincial towns of late years, particularly at the sea-ports and the large manufacturing towns (which, including the metropolis, comprise about one third of the population), and taking into the account the prodigious number among the lower classes who cohabit together without marriage, and again separate when a difference ensues, it is perhaps not too much to say, that upon the whole there must be of both these classes of unfortunate females at least — — — —	100,000
Carried over	1,220,716

Brought over	1,220,716
6. *Persons described in the statute of 17 Geo. II. as rogues and vagabonds,* comprising wandering players of interludes at fairs, *mountebanks, stage-dancers and tumblers exhibiting in the open air, showmen, ballad-singers, minstrels with hurdy-gurdies and hand-organs, &c. vagabonds with dancing bears and monkies, low gamblers with E O tables,* wheels of fortune, and other seductive implements of gaming; *duffers* with waistcoat pieces and *other smuggled goods, and petty chapmen and low Jews,* with trinkets without licenses, alluring ignorant purchasers by apparent good bargains, and securing, notwithstanding, a large profit by giving change in bad money; *pretended horse-dealers* without licenses, exposing stolen horses for sale. All these different classes of vagabonds visit almost every fair and horse-race in the country, and live generally by fraud and deception. Foreign vagabonds, who also wander about the country, pretending to sell pictures, but who are also dealers in obscene books and prints, which they introduce into boarding-schools, on pretence of selling prints of flowers, whereby the youth of both sexes are corrupted, while at the same time some of these wanderers are suspected of being employed by the enemy	
Carried over	1,220,716

Brought over 1,220,716

as spies. The number of these different classes fluctuate, and cannot be easily ascertained, but it is probable they may amount upon the whole to — — 10,000

7. *Lottery vagrants,* or persons employed in procuring insurances during the drawing of the lotteries, or as proprietors of Little Go lotteries, confined chiefly to the metropolis. This class have fluctuated of late years; but they are still numerous, and perhaps may be fairly estimated, including male and female, at — 10,000

8. *Criminal offenders,* comprising *highway robbers, footpad robbers, burglars, housebreakers, pickpockets, horse-stealers, sheep-stealers, stealers of hogs and cattle, deer-stealers, common thieves, petty thieves, occasional thieves who cannot resist temptations, receivers of stolen goods, coiners of base money, venders and utterers of base coin, forgers of all descriptions, utterers of counterfeit bank notes, cheats, swindlers, embezzlers of goods and money, return transports,* and other offenders. When it is considered what a multitude of the offences above enumerated never come under the review of magistrates—the great number of larcenies which are never discovered, or concealed if found out, to avoid the trouble and expense of prosecution—it is more than

Carried over 1,240,716

Brought over	1,240,716
probable, that upon the whole the number of persons who chiefly support themselves by criminal offences, must exceed, with their families — — —	*80,000
Total number presumed to live chiefly or wholly upon the labour of others —	1,320,716

In order still further to elucidate in some degree this general view of the immoral and criminal pursuits of, alas! too many individuals who compose the body politic, it may not be inapplicable to the object in contemplation, of investigating the means of providing a remedy, to insert the following authentic statement of the number of criminal offenders who were committed to the several gaols of England and Wales for trial in the year 1805,

* It is not however to be inferred from this aggregate view of indigence, idleness, and turpitude, notwithstanding the shocking deformity which it exhibits, that the morals of the nation at large are worse than those of many of the countries in Europe. Were it possible to take a similar view of the state of society in France and other countries depending on it, the result would undoubtedly be more shocking, and the turpitude even more extensive in proportion to the population. The evils as they relate to England are chiefly to be attributed to the great deficiency of the laws, which have done enough to punish, but little to prevent criminal offences. A remedy may be found in the improvement of the police system, while in the mean time the evil is in some degree counterbalanced by a greater portion of active benevolence, humanity, charity, and other virtues among the innocent part of the community than are to be found in any other country in the world.

at the Old Bailey and the assizes; but as it does not include those committed during the same period for minor criminal offences cognizable by the justices, assembled in their general and quarter sessions, which are upon the whole nearly as numerous as those tried at the superior courts, an estimate is attempted in round numbers of these also, and likewise of the commitments and discharges by justices out of sessions of numerous persons accused of criminal offences, and not ultimately sent for trial for want of legal evidence, including those culprits who are convicted of misdemeanors or lesser crimes by summary process.

Number of Persons committed in each County in England and Wales for Trial at the Old Bailey and the Assizes, in the Year 1805.

Counties. *England.*	Males.	Females.	Total of Males and Females.	Population of each County.
Middlesex —	732	485	1217	818,129
Lancaster —	206	165	371	672,731
York —	181	64	245	858,892
Kent —	169	41	210	307,624
Surrey —	147	52	199	269,043
Norfolk —	114	49	163	273,371
Warwick —	120	40	160	208,190
Hants —	105	42	147	219,656
Essex —	127	17	144	226,437
Gloucester, including Bristol —	108	33	141	250,809
Suffolk —	96	13	109	210,431
Somerset —	79	27	106	273,750
Sussex —	93	12	105	159,311
Devon —	69	27	96	343,001
Stafford —	67	24	91	239,153
Chester —	56	24	80	191,751
Salop —	59	20	79	167,639
Wilts —	61	14	75	185,107
Nottingham —	60	14	74	140,350
Berks —	50	12	62	109,215
Lincoln —	44	14	58	208,557
Worcester —	44	7	51	139,333
Leicester —	33	14	47	130,081
Cornwall —	35	10	45	188,269
Herts —	36	7	43	97,577
Northampton —	35	7	42	131,757
Cambridge —	36	4	40	89,346
Derby —	34	5	39	161,142
Oxford —	34	4	38	109,620
Dorset —	28	10	38	115,319
Northumberland —	18	20	38	157,101
Bucks —	29	4	33	107,444
Hereford —	29	2	31	89,191
Durham —	27	5	27	160,361
Bedford —	17	3	20	63,393
Monmouth —	14	6	20	45,582
Cumberland —	9	9	18	117,230
Huntingdon —	13	2	15	37,568
Westmoreland —	4	2	6	41,617
Rutland —	4	0	4	16,356
	3217	1310	4527	8,331,434

Number of Persons committed in each County in England and Wales for Trial—continued.

Counties. *Wales.*	Males.	Females.	Total of Males and Females.	Population of each County.
Glamorgan —	10	5	15	71,525
Montgomery —	10	5	15	47,978
Pembroke —	7	5	12	56,280
Carmarthen —	5	3	8	67,317
Brecon — —	3	4	7	31,633
Carnarvon —	4	2	6	41,521
Radnor — —	3	3	6	19,050
Flint — —	3	1	4	39,622
Denbigh — —	2	0	2	60,352
Cardigan — —	2	0	2	42,956
Anglesey — —	1	0	1	33,806
Merioneth —	0	0	0	29,506
Total Wales	50	28	78	541,546
Total England	3217	1310	4527	8,331,434
Total for England and Wales —	3267	1338	4605	8,872,980
To which add the offenders committed for trial at 220 general and quarter sessions held in England and Wales, estimated at			4395	Of which population about six millions are above fifteen years of age.
Add also commitments by magistrates out of sessions not sent to superior courts, estimated at			3000	
		Total	12,000	

For the purpose of giving the reader a view of the particular offences, and the different shades of criminality applicable to the 3267 males and the 1338 female offenders, who were thus committed to the several gaols of England and Wales for trial in the year 1805, with the particular punishments inflicted by the superior judges, the following abstract has been framed.

Crimes charged.	Persons.
Larceny, or stealing from houses, persons, &c.	3555
Receivers of stolen goods — —	137
Burglars and house-breakers — —	136
Uttering base money — — —	108
Fraud and conspiracy — — —	94
Sheep-stealers — — — —	71
Horse-stealers — — — —	65
Highway robbery — — —	63
Manslaughter — — — —	56
Murder, in which are included twenty-seven females for the murder of their infants —	53
Rapes, including attempts to violate female chastity — — — —	38
Stealing cows and pigs — — —	38
Forgery — — — —	36
Ditto of Bank notes, and uttering ditto —	28
Bigamy — — — — —	23
Cutting and maiming — — —	21
Shooting at others — — —	14
Sodomy and bestiality, including attempts	15
Coining base money — — —	15
Returning from transportation — —	15
Arson, or house-burning, &c. — —	13
Piracy — — — — —	7
Sedition — — — — —	4
Total —	4605

Sentences pronounced, &c.		Persons.
Death — — —		350
Transported	14 years	34
	7 years	561
Imprisoned	3 years — 5	
	1 to 2 years 123	
	½ year to 1 year 333	
	6 months & under 1219	1680
Whipped and fined —		105
Sent to the army and navy		53
Tried and acquitted —		1092
Discharged by proclamation, no bill being found —		730
Total		4605

Punishment of Death.	Persons.
Executed.	
For burglary — —	15
murder — —	10
horse-stealing —	7
forging and uttering Bank notes — —	7
forgery — —	6
sheep-stealing —	5
rapes — —	5
highway robbery —	4
coining — —	3
arson — —	2
larceny in a dwelling-house	2
cutting and maiming	1
shooting at —	1
Total executed	68

Recapitulation.

Executed — —	68	
Sent out of the country —	877	
		945
Imprisoned to return on society	1680	
Whipped ditto —	105	
Discharged ditto —	1822	
		3607
Sent to the army and navy		53
Total		4605

A similar abstract of offences tried by the justices in their sessions (were it practicable to frame it from accurate returns) would disclose a catalogue of human depravity nearly of equal extent, with the same results (the punishment of death only excepted) as to *transportation*, *whipping*, *imprisonment*, and the *pillory*, with numerous discharges of criminal and depraved characters every year, in consequenee of acquittals arising from evidence different from what was exhibited before the committing magistrate, and by various other devices to elude justice. The discharges also, by proclamation, of persons committed for want of bail, who, although the offences cannot, according to the general acceptation of the word, be denominated *criminal*, are extremely numerous, and send back upon society a vast number of depraved characters, rendered worse by having become the inhabitants of gaols, and from associating with the most abandoned classes of the community.

It is scarcely possible to have a just conception of the various remedies which it may be necessary to apply with respect to the system of the poor and the more effectual relief of *indigence*, without thus taking a general view of the turpitude and criminality of the nation at large; since it is a state of *indigence*, fostered by idleness, which produces a disposition to moral and criminal offences, and they are so linked together, that it will be found impracticable to ameliorate the condition of the poor without taking

more effectual measures at the same time for the prevention of criminal offences.

Suggestions for this purpose have long since been disclosed to the public, which have not only been generally admitted to be practicable, but after the fullest consideration have received the sanction, and obtained, above six years ago, the recommendation of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on finance.

It is better, to use the words of an elegant writer, to prevent moral and criminal offences than to punish them. This is the fundamental principle of good legislation. It is the art of conducting a nation to the maximum of happiness and the minimum of misery. To prevent the evils which are disclosed in this work, the laws should be clear and simple; they should be adapted to the existing state of society and manners, and the whole force of the nation should be united in their due execution and defence.

How far suggestions, offered by the author in the following chapters, are likely in any degree to obtain the great object of ameliorating the condition of the poor, and reducing the number of moral and criminal offences, must be determined by a candid public; but more particularly by those enlightened and respectable individuals whose peculiar province it is to legislate for their country, and to guide the helm of the state.

CHAPTER I.

A brief View of the State of Indigence after the Reformation, and previous to the Act of the 43d of Elizabeth.—The great Outlines of this Act explained.—Raising Assessments the only Part of it which has been accurately executed.—The Rates in 1601 *supposed about* £200,000, *when the Population was estimated at* 5,000,000.—*Increased in* 1803 *to* £4,267,965 *on a Population of* 8,872,980.—*A short Detail of the parliamentary Returns in* 1776, 1785, *and* 1803.—*Upwards of* 400,000 *Adults able to work, supported partly or wholly by the Public.—The Means of executing the Poor Laws defective.—Those assigned for this Purpose incompetent.—Expenditure on Paupers.—County Rates, &c.—The Rental of England and Wales* £38,000,000.—*The total Expense of relieving Indigence and temporary Distress from public Assessments and private Benevolence* £7,000,000 *a Year.—Inequality of the Rates in different Districts.—The unexampled Benevolence of the opulent and humane in England.—The Object of, however, not attained of removing the Evil.—The Aids thus afforded have not increased the Mass of productive Labour.—A more enlightened Superintendance of the Affairs of*

the Poor necessary.—Misery and Wretchedness still prevail, notwithstanding the unexampled pecuniary Sacrifices which have been made.—It will increase if Remedies are not employed, to the Hazard of a total Dissolution of the Body politic.

THE legislative regulations which were made previously to the Reformation for the support of the indigent, and other matters affecting the labouring people, evince a very imperfect knowledge of political economy; nor was it discovered until after a long lapse of years, that the direct interference of the legislature in respect to the prices of provisions and labour, was in most instances *un*necessary, and generally injurious.

The suppression of the monasteries in the reign of Henry the Eighth left the indigent in England without that eleemosynary resource to which they had been accustomed to look for subsistence either permanent or occasional; while the laws made to restrain idleness and vagrancy are distinguished by a harshness and severity which strongly mark the rude and imperfect state of society at this period.

The long reign of Elizabeth produced a series of acts of parliament for the improvement of the former laws respecting the poor; and various devices were resorted to for the purpose of compelling the idle to work, and for the punishment of vagrants. At length in the year 1572 the legislature for the first time found it necessary to authorize

a general assessment for the relief of the impotent poor, and to employ the surplus (if any) in setting rogues and vagabonds to work, under the superintendance of overseers. The 18th of Elizabeth authorizes the justices to provide houses of correction, and materials for the purpose of employing the idle and the dissolute, and of instructing the youth in useful occupations. In the year 1597 various new legislative regulations were made relative to vagrancy and mendicity; and some of the barbarous punishments inflicted on vagrants by acts passed in this and former reigns were commuted for whipping. The 39th of Elizabeth established most of the provisions which were afterwards re-enacted with some amendments in the year 1601, namely, in the 43d year of the same reign, and forms the great features of the system with respect to the support and management of the poor, which has been acted upon for more than two centuries.

It was not therefore until experience had enlightened the minds of the very able statesmen of those days, that this system was ultimately matured by a consolidation and an improvement of previous experimental laws. The following are the great outlines of the act of the 43d of Elizabeth.

1. Setting the children of the poor to work when their parents cannot maintain them.
2. Putting poor children out apprentices.
3. Setting the idle to work.

4. Purchasing raw materials for that purpose.
5. Raising by an assessment a sum of money for the support of the old, lame, impotent, blind, and such as are unable to work, from infancy or other causes, and to pay for raw materials.
6. Appointing two overseers in addition to the churchwardens to carry the act into execution.
7. Authorizing justices to appoint the overseers, and to inspect the proceedings of the parish officers.

Nothing can appear more excellent in theory than the system thus established; and had it been strictly carried into effect, the nation for the two last centuries could only have been burdened with the support of *infants, and aged or infirm persons* reduced to a state of indigence from inability to labour. But experience has shewn, that no part of this statute has been executed either in its *letter* or *spirit*, save and except the raising of money by assessments, which has been most accurately carried into effect from year to year, until the burden has increased (as is supposed) from £200,000 in the year 1601 *, when the act commenced, and when the population of the country was estimated at about 5,000,000, to £4,267,965 on a population amounting to 8,872,980 in the year 1803.

* There is no authentic record of the amount of the assessments at this period; but there are strong grounds to presume that they did not exceed, nor even extend quite to £200,000.

The facts disclosed by the parliamentary returns of the poor in 1776, and in 1783, 4, and 5, and the more recent returns made in 1803, clearly demonstrate, that neither the children of the poor able to labour, nor the adults, have been set to work to an extent to be useful; and that the materials purchased and the work performed are trifling and inconsiderable when compared with the number of paupers in the middle stages of life, amounting to nearly half a million of individuals who have received relief*. Neither does it ap-

* In 1803 the number of paupers relieved in parishes and parochial places stood as follows:

Out of work-houses -	Adults relieved permanently - - - -		336,199
	Paupers relieved occasionally, besides 194,052 vagrants - - - -		305,899
	Children relieved permanently under 5 years	120,236	
	Children relieved permanently from 5 to 14 years	194,914	
			315,150
In work-houses, including their children			83,468
		Total	‡ 1,040,716

‡ Thus it appears, that out of 1,040,716 paupers, only 83,448, including their children, were in work-houses. The money laid out in the purchase of raw materials for the employment of paupers in and out of work-houses, only amounted to £47,523, and the sum earned is estimated at £93,333. Supposing nearly 500,000 able (including a part of the aged above 60) to perform a certain portion of work, the whole

pear that poor children have been regularly apprenticed out as the act directs, since multitudes reduced to a state of indigence grow up without learning any useful trade, who afterwards, in many instances, become noxious and criminal members of society.

It is not therefore the system, but the execution, which has proved to be defective; and it is justly observed by an eminent writer (Judge Blackstone), "that the farther all subsequent plans for "maintaining the poor have departed from the ori-"ginal design, the more impracticable and even per-"nicious those visionary attempts have proved— "nor could any thing short of prophecy have fore-"told at the beginning of the 17th century, that "in consequence of these apparently wise regu-"lations, the poor rates would have reached *three* "*millions sterling*."

It has been already observed, that many eminent writers of the two last centuries violently declaim against the conduct of parochial officers appointed to execute the poor laws, and impute the whole blame to a class of men, who, however well qualified at the beginning, are now, from their rank in society and often deficient education, unequal to

earnings only amount on an average to somewhat less than 3*s.* 9*d.* a head yearly. The whole number of children in schools of industry were 21,600 out of 194,914 permanently relieved, and there is too much reason to believe that most of this very reduced number were very imperfectly educated.

details of such extreme difficulty, more especially under circumstances where occupations necessary for the support of their families not only claim their attention, and often fully employ their time; but where the duty is rendered infinitely more intricate from the complicated machinery introduced by modern statutes, and also from the extensive and gigantic height to which the labour and expense have risen in consequence of the vast and rapid increase of paupers, without proper legislative regulations to meet so extraordinary an exigency.

But much as this important branch of political economy engaged the attention of the legislature, and different authors during the last and the preceding century, and much as the evil of vagrancy and mendicity appeared to afflict society, a period of only forty years has elapsed since authentic returns of the expense of supporting and assisting paupers were brought under the review of parliament—namely, in the year 1776, which were followed up by subsequent returns in 1783, 1784, and 1785, and ultimately by a more general and specific report in 1803.

From these public documents the following results appear:

	£.
1. That the money actually expended on paupers from the parochial rates in 1776, was — —	1,530,804
2. That the average expenditure in 1783, 1784, 1785, was —	2,004,238

3. That the expense applicable to paupers only in 1803 was — £. 4,267,965

The money however raised in these years by assessments having included the church and county rates, which have greatly increased of late years, the amount considerably exceeded the actual sums expended on the poor, since

	£.
in 1776 the actual assessment in 14,113 parishes and places returned, amounted to	1,720,316
In 1783, 1784, 1785, the actual assessment in 14,240 parishes and places returned, amounted on an average to —	2,167,749
In 1803 the actual assessment in 14,611 parishes and places returned, amounted to	5,348,205*

* This last sum assessed by the different parishes, namely, £5,348,205, was applied in the following manner:

	Paupers.	Amount.			Average per Head.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
On paupers out of work-houses -	957,248	§3,061,446	16	10½	3	3	7½
On paupers in work-houses - - -	83,468	1,016,445	15	3	12	3	6½
On law expenses and removals -		190,072	17	0½			
	1,040,716	4,267,965	9	2			
Church and county rate || -		1,034,105	13	2½			
Total actual expenditure		£5,302,071	2	4½			

§ In this sum is included £19,405 4s. applied (according to the parliamentary report) in relieving 194,052 persons not belonging to the parishes granting such relief; and supposed to be vagrants.—When added to the aggregate number of parishioners the general total of persons relieved will be 1,234,768!

|| The county rate comprises—the coroner's expenses, build-

quence of extreme indigence, produced by deaths and other casualties and misfortunes *.

But in order to have a complete view of the total expense incurred in relieving the indigent in England and Wales, it will be necessary to add to the parochial expenditure the aggregate incomes arising from lands and money bequeathed at different periods for charitable purposes, and also the farther sums that flow from private benevolence, which so eminently distinguishes the opulent and humane in this, above those of every other country in the world.

	£.
1. It has already been stated that the money arising from parochial assessments expended in the maintenance and relief of the poor in 1803, amounted to — — —	4,267,965
2. The produce of lands and money bequeathed at different periods appears from a return to parliament in 1785, to amount to £210,467	
Carried over	£4,267,965

* The author has frequently had from 400 to 600 defaulters upon his roll at a single petty sessions, in several of the out-parishes of the metropolis, all pleading exemption from the poor rates from total inability to raise the money. The more opulent part of the community therefore who actually pay the rates, are more heavily assessed than appears from comparing the sums received with the actual rental of the kingdom.

It is however to be observed, that of the 1,905,823 * families in England and Wales, only about one third part actually pay the parochial rates. It is known that about 700,000 houses in England and Wales pay the assessed taxes; and as very few who inhabit smaller houses are charged with the poor's rate, it may therefore be fairly presumed that about one third of the housekeepers bear this burden; since in large cities few houses are assessed under £10 a year rent, and many housekeepers who even occupy higher rented houses, principally with a view to lodgers, are often unable to pay in conse-

tend from 20*s.* and (in 1801) as high even as 40*s.* in the pound on the assessed rental. It appears from the parliamentary returns, that in the county of Sussex 23 persons in 100 of the population have been relieved at — £1 5 11 a head.

In Hampshire ..	15 persons in 100	at	0	16	3 do.
In Kent.....	14 do. in 100	at	0	16	7½ do.
In Surrey	13 do. in 100	at	0	13	3½ do.
In Cumberland..	7 only in 100	at	0	5	0 do.

* The inhabited houses in England and Wales, which may be estimated at 1,600,000, admit nearly (according to Sir Frederick Eden) of the following distribution as to average rents:

				£
In the metropolis about	100,000 houses, averaging	£30 net rent		3,000,000
In ditto, and in the different towns -	550,000	- 10	-	5,500,000
In the country -	200,000	- 5	-	1,000,000
	400,000	- 2	-	800,000
	350,000	- 1 10*s.*	-	525,000
	1,600,000			£10,825,000

It is indeed a singular fact, that in so small a population compared with that of the rest of Europe, England alone should exhibit an example of pecuniary sacrifice in behalf of distress and indigence, which in point of magnitude and extent exceeds perhaps *tenfold* what is manifested in any other civilized nation in the world of the same number of inhabitants. In point of magnitude it even exceeds the whole revenues of most of the principal kingdoms in Europe.

The great question however is, how far this unexampled pecuniary sacrifice is necessary, and to what extent it has tended to ameliorate the condition of the indigent, or to prop up that useful part of the community *the poor*, so as to prevent their descending into a state of wretchedness, distress, and inaction?

Very few arguments are required to prove that the object in contemplation has not been attained. The liberality of the country has been great beyond expression; but the mass of productive labour has not been increased. The indigent have been clothed and fed; but few, very few, have recovered their former useful station of *independent poverty*.

It should seem therefore that the calamity, by which such multitudes have ceased to support

in the present war for the relief of maimed soldiers and sailors in fighting the battles of their country, and the relations of those who have fallen, the amount would be considerably more.

themselves by the labour they possess, does not arise from a deficient pecuniary aid, but from the want of a system of management, calculated to render such aid a means of leading directly to future exertions on the part of those to whom it has been administered.

Other causes operate to render a more enlightened agency necessary in this greatest of all branches of political economy. They have operated for two hundred years, during which period the evil has been progressively increasing—various expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of extending and improving the system; but nothing has been done to give effect to the general design by a superintendence equal to the direction of so complicated a machine. The most difficult problem in government has been assigned to managers incapable of solving it.

Liberal as the provision has been for the purpose of preventing poverty from descending into indigence, and numerous beyond all example as the individuals are who compose the present phalanx of paupers in the pay of the country, still misery and wretchedness continue to assail the attentive observer, not only in the metropolis, but in every populous city, town, and village in the country *. The morals of the inferior classes of society have been greatly neglected. Vicious habits, idleness, improvidence, and sottishness, prevail in

* See page 30.

so great a degree, that until a right bias shall have been given to the minds of the vulgar, joined to a greater portion of intelligence in respect to the economy of the poor, one million of indigent will be added to another, requiring permanent or partial relief, producing ultimately such a gangrene in the body politic as to threaten its total dissolution.

To prevent these mischiefs, the application of a variety of remedies will be necessary, which it is the object of the author separately to discuss in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

Mendicity and Vagrancy.—Indigence generally disclosed to the Public in the Garb of Vagrancy.—The Punishment applicable to this Offence shocking and barbarous in early Times.—Distinction between culpable and innocent Vagrancy.—The Laws make no Distinction, both are confounded together.—Difficulties thereby created in their Execution.—The extreme Difficulty for want of Testimonials of discriminating between the two Classes.—The Vagrant Act (17 Geo. II.) passed sixty-two Years ago.—Its Imperfections and Inaccuracy in defining the Offences.—Important to consult the Feelings of the People with respect to the Means of Punishment.—The existing Act creates three separate Offences.—These Offences with the Punishments detailed under three distinct Heads.—The Laws relative to Vagrancy intimately connected with the Management of the Poor.—A Proposition to commute the Punishment of sturdy Beggars for an Assignment of their Labour; Reasons in favour of this Suggestion.—The Probability of finding Employers for those able to work.—Imprisonment only prepares them for higher Offences.—A Suggestion relative to Ballad-singers, Minstrels, and

petty Hawkers, described in the Vagrant Act.—General Observations on Mendicity.—A summary View of the Remedies proposed.

INDIGENCE is generally disclosed to the public in the garb of vagrancy or mendicity. Vagrancy has afflicted every part of civilized Europe for many centuries, and it has already appeared that in England this offence was at different periods punished with a severity very shocking and barbarous * ; and the punishment in early times as well

* In the year 1383, by the statute of Richard II.—Justices were enjoined to take security of vagrants for good behaviour, or be imprisoned.

In 1496, the 11th of Henry VII.—Modified former statutes; and instead of imprisonment, vagrants were required to find surety to enter into service; and vagabonds and idle and suspected persons should be set in the stocks three days and three nights, having nothing but bread and water.

In 1504, by the 19th of Henry VII.—The punishment was lessened to one day and one night in the stocks.

In 1530, by the 22d of Henry VIII.—Valiant and sturdy beggars, and ruffiers, are to be whipped, and sworn to return to their own places.

In 1535, by the 27th of Henry VIII.—For the second offence of playing the vagabond and wandering abroad, the offender was to be again whipped, and to have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear clean cut off; and if he offend again, he shall suffer death as a felon and an enemy to the commonwealth.

In 1547, by the 1st Edward VI.—Persons able to work who refuse to labour and live idly for three days, shall be branded with a red-hot iron on the breast (both men and women), with

as at the present period, is often rendered extremely harsh and cruel from the difficulty which

the letter V, and shall be adjudged slaves for two years of any person who shall inform against such idler; and it was left to the master to employ the slave in the vilest work, to be fed with bread and water or small drink, and if the slave absented himself for fourteen days he became a slave for life, after being branded on the forehead or cheek with the letter S; and if he ran away a second time he was to suffer death as a felon.

By the 2d and 3d of Philip and Mary—Many of the statutes respecting beggars, vagabonds, and idle persons were enforced.

By the 14th of Elizabeth, in 1572—Rogues and vagabonds are ordered to be set at work under the superintendance of overseers. Beggars above fourteen years were punished in the first instance by *grievous whipping, and burning* the gristle of the right ear, unless some person would take the beggar into his service for one year; and for a second offence he was liable to suffer *death*, unless some creditable person would employ him for two years: and for a third offence the beggar was to be adjudged a felon.

During the reign of James I. the above act was continued and explained, and its provisions enforced by additional penalties; namely, that rogues adjudged incorrigible and dangerous should be branded on the left shoulder with a hot iron of the breadth of a shilling having a roman R upon it; and if after such punishment they were found begging or wandering, they were to suffer death without clergy.

By the 12th of Queen Anne, the harsh penalties of this last act (which continued in force till this time) were modified, and a distinction made between *idle and disorderly persons*, and *rogues and vagabonds*.

By the 17th of George II. passed in the year 1744, the vagrant acts were consolidated, and the 23d, 29th, and 32d of

occurs in distinguishing *culpable* from *innocent* vagrancy. Whether the vagrant becomes a beggar from habits of idleness, laziness, or sloth; or is driven into the streets and highways from sudden misfortune, from sickness, from the loss of a husband, a father, and other casualties, leaving a helpless widow with a numerous family of children crying for food, without the means of procuring it; living at a distance perhaps from the parish settlement, or without any parish upon which a legal claim can be made, and receiving at any rate only the scanty allowance made in such cases, which barely compasses the object of paying the weekly rent of a miserable lodging: such cases of *innocent vagrancy* arising from this and other causes enumerated in page 11, do most frequently occur, particularly in large cities, and will continue as long as society exists in a state of civilization. But the laws make no distinction—*innocent* and *culpable* vagrancy are confounded together, and the *virtuous* and *vicious* mendicant are subject to the same punishment. Hence it is that so many difficulties occur in the execution of this branch of police. The human mind revolts at any act of severity inflicted on an object apparently borne down by

of His present Majesty, extended the provisions of this act to suspicious persons having picklock keys, and to lottery offenders, and specified the punishment to be inflicted on vagrants previous to their being passed to their parishes.

misfortunes, and already sufficiently punished by the pressures of *hunger*, *nakedness*, and *want of shelter* from the inclemency of the weather. To chastise indiscriminately would be frequently to inflict pain on those who perhaps have seen better days; who are driven by necessity and not by choice to enter the walks of mendicity, and whose feelings are sufficiently tortured by the shocking degradation which it has been their lot to experience. To discriminate between the two extremes, where the cases are involved in so much perplexity and difficulty, and require so much investigation, is no easy task. The proofs necessary to form an accurate judgment are rarely attainable. The police has provided no means of certifying good conduct or character to those among the inferior classes, to whom such testimonials would often be invaluable; and hence magistrates, excepting in very clear cases, yield to the lenient side, lest they should inadvertently punish the innocent with the guilty.

It is now sixty-two years since the act of the 17th of George II. cap. 5. passed into a law. It certainly removed much of what was objectionable in former statutes; but it still left the system extremely imperfect, and can be considered only as a fabric erected by using many of the useless and old materials and machinery of former acts generally ill adapted to the present state of society, since offences (most of them ill defined) are still

subject to very severe punishments, to which the human mind can scarcely annex any adequate degree of moral turpitude. Some of the offences, which appear to have been copied from ancient statutes, are also long since obsolete; while others, that were noxious one or two centuries ago, from the changes which have taken place in the state of society, if they have not absolutely lost their sting, are at least not very mischievous, and certainly undeserving of so severe a punishment, which can seldom be inflicted, because many of the shades of vagrancy, as explained in the act, either do not exist at all, or are divested of their injurious and malignant qualities.

In legislating upon any penal offence in a free country, it is of importance to consult the feelings of the people. If the public mind shall be impressed with an idea that the punishment is too severe for the offence, it is difficult, nay impossible, to carry the law effectually into execution. The act of 17th George II. already mentioned, creates three separate offences under the general term vagrancy. Namely:

I.

Idle and disorderly persons, *to be committed to the house of correction not exceeding one month.—Thus described:*

1. Persons who threaten to run away and leave their families on the parish.

2. Persons returning to parishes from whence they have been legally removed.
3. Persons without property, who live idly, and refuse to work.
4. Persons begging in parishes or places where they dwell.
5. Persons (by 32d of George III. cap. 45.) who being able to work neglect to work, spend their money in alehouses, &c. and do not employ a portion of their earnings for the support of their families, by which they come upon the parish.

II.

Rogues and vagabonds, who on conviction are to be whipped (if not females), or imprisoned until the sessions, or a shorter period.—The sessions may order a further imprisonment of six months at hard labour.—Thus described:

1. Persons gathering alms on pretence of loss by fire, or other casualty, and patent gatherers.
2. Persons going about as collectors for prisons or hospitals.
3. Fencers (not defined).
4. Bear wards (not defined).
5. Players of interludes without being authorized by law.
6. Minstrels (except the heirs or assigns of John Dutton late of Chester).
7. Jugglers (not defined).
8. Gypsies, or persons wandering as such.
9. Fortunetellers.
10. Persons using any subtle craft to deceive (not clearly defined).
11. Persons playing and betting at unlawful games.

12. Persons who run away, and abandon their families to the parish.
13. Pedlars wandering abroad without license.
14. Persons wandering abroad, sleeping in the open air, and *lodging in alehouses*, barns, and outhouses, and not giving a good account of themselves.
15. Persons wandering abroad, and begging on pretence of being soldiers, mariners, or seafaring men.
16. Persons wandering on pretence of going to work in harvest without a certificate from the minister or churchwarden.
17. Persons wandering abroad and begging.
18. Persons (by 23d of Geo. III. cap. 88.) apprehended with picklock keys, crows, or implements of housebreaking, or with arms with an intent to assault, or found in any house, outhouse, &c. with intent to steal.

III.

Incorrigible rogues and vagabonds, punished by imprisonment until the sessions, when the justices may extend it to two years and not less than six months, and may order the offenders to be whipped during imprisonment, or may be transported if they break out of prison.—Thus described:

1. End gatherers, offending against the statute of 13th of George I.
2. Persons apprehended as rogues and vagabonds, and who escaped; refusing to go before a justice, or to be conveyed by a pass, or giving a false account of themselves.
3. Persons imprisoned as rogues and vagabonds who shall break prison, and escape before their time expires.
4. Persons, who, after being punished as rogues and vagabonds, shall again commit the same offence.

While the laws relative to vagrancy are so intimately connected with the management of paupers, it will be seen from this brief exposition how much a revision is necessary, more especially as the present system has not only failed in producing the effect intended; but as idleness and vagrancy places such a multitude of women and children in the ranks of indigence, and renders them a heavy burden on the industrious part of the community.

Instead of imprisonment (which renders them more hardened and depraved), or removal to their parishes, which is attended with great expense *, without any advantage, would it not be preferable to define this offence more accurately, and better adapted to the present state of society, and to adjudge the labour and service of the offenders (being able to work) to such persons as will contract for it for a limited time, giving them the same authority to detain them as a master has over his

* The apprehension and removal of vagrants, while it creates a considerable expense to the different counties, turns out practically to answer no purpose, since they generally escape from the contract cart, and return speedily to their old haunts. Most, if not all, the professed beggars have long since become incorrigible rogues, subject to seven years transportation; but they are generally old, and not worth the expense; and therefore they are suffered to afflict society, because the punishment is not adapted to the correction of the evil. The annual expense merely in apprehending and removing vagrants may be estimated at about £15,000 a year for England and Wales.

apprentice; and also the same privileges as are allowed to apprentices to complain in their turn if they are improperly treated, so as to obtain redress from magistrates?

In a country like England, where great works are constantly carrying on in *cutting canals*, *embankments*, *mines*, and on various rude manufactures, and even where the means of employment exist for female vagrants under the power of coercion, it is presumed that persons would be found desirous not only of maintaining such vagrants who were able to work, but also of allowing a small sum for clothing, for the benefit of their labour. Nothing so effectually corrupts the morals of slight offenders as *imprisonment*—it debases their minds, and prepares them for the commission of higher and more atrocious offences.

In all cases where certain classes of people follow idle employments, which are in themselves amusing to the lower orders of the people, such as *ballad-singers* and *minstrels*, since they cannot be suppressed, they might be greatly reduced by licensing a certain number under peculiar and severe restrictions. The laws relative to hawkers and pedlars are at present extremely defective, and hence excessive abuses have crept in, which by means of different classes of licenses would prevent much idleness and fraud.

Every individual born in this country, or who has acquired a legal settlement, has a right to be

maintained as in the character of a pauper at the public expense; and under this right (with the exception of perhaps one in fifty), he is maintained in idleness. In this view the condition of a common beggar is more estimable in his own eyes than that of a pauper, since, having an option, he would otherwise become a *pauper*; and hence it is that beggars who follow mendicity as a trade, are averse to that coercion, and the risk of performing at least *some labour* which may be required in houses of industry.

The mischiefs attached to mendicity have in all countries been considered as very grievous. Begging is a species of extortion to which the tender-hearted are chiefly exposed. Disgust may indeed exist where there is no sympathy, which is generally relieved by giving alms. The numbers restrained by disgust from giving alms bear no proportion to those who are impelled by sympathy; and hence to the beggar the difference is greater in point of comfort between begging and working. It is a true saying, "*That every penny spent is a reward to industry, while every penny given is a bounty upon idleness.*" The luxuries seen in many instances to be enjoyed by *professed beggars*, are a sort of insult on the hard-working child of industry, by holding him out as the dupe who toils to earn a maintenance inferior to what is to be obtained by canting and grimace.

Mendicity produces many evils in society. It affords a facility to the commission of crimes by

the removal of shame, which is the greatest safeguard of honesty.

The punishment under the present vagrant act operates rather as an obstruction than as a remedy to the object in the view of the legislature. Whipping does not give employment, while imprisonment in a common gaol excludes the individual from it. Houses of correction are not universal; and it is much to be lamented that where they exist, notwithstanding the enormous expense incurred in their erection (with a very few exceptions), they afford nothing of *correction* but the *name*.

The mere want of gaol-room would itself be a physical bar to the exercise of that species of labour by which a vagrant could maintain himself after his discharge. The spare room in all the existing prisons would scarcely lodge, much less set to work, the beggars alone who are at present in existence. The law therefore, as it now stands, can never be effectual; and hence it is, that excepting the occasional punishments of an individual who happens to be particularly obnoxious, matters go on as if no law existed, and the limits set to mendicity in general are not by the operation of the laws, but by the quantum of encouragement afforded within a given space to this mode of life. It is therefore a hopeless case, if the existing system is to continue, since it has been practically found to comprise in its structure nothing in the shape of a remedy.

In order to extirpate mendicity in part (for it is to be feared, for the reasons already assigned, it can never be wholly eradicated), the following suggestions are offered to those to whom it may hereafter be assigned to propose remedies to the legislature:

1. The infirm beggars and infants unable to work to be maintained in asylums at the public expense.
2. The *sturdy*, or what the ancient statutes denominate the *valiant beggars* and *ruffiers*, to serve His Majesty in his armies abroad, or, in case of female mendicants, to have their services assigned over to persons who will receive them as servants for a limited time for food, clothing, and lodging.
3. Idle and disorderly persons, who live by various devices, injurious to the public, or apparently idle, without any lawful or visible means of subsistence (which includes most of the descriptions of the noxious persons in the vagrant act), to be disposed of in the same manner.
4. Wherever the acts in question mention other descriptions now found injurious to society, or where such noxious members exist who have not been the object of any sufficient legislative regulations, these to be the object of a separate act of parliament, in which the nature of the offence shall be so clearly defined, as to secure an energetic and effectual execution.

The machinery of the existing statute is extremely complicated, and upon the whole the act is not only loosely framed, but in some respects not easily understood. To punish an individual *for threatening to commit an offence*, not of a criminal nature, and before he actually commits it, is a new principle in jurisprudence recognised in no other civilized country, and it is believed only in this instance in England. In order to secure a correct execution of the laws, they should be clear and explicit, and adapted in all cases to the existing state of society, and the whole force of the nation should be united in their defence and execution.

CHAPTER III.

BOARD OF GENERAL AND INTERNAL POLICE.

Religious and moral Habits the best Security against Indigence, Vagrancy, and criminal Offences.—This Object attainable in a certain Degree.—The People of England easily governed.—The prominent Evils of the present Pauper System reviewed.—A superintending Agency necessary to correct the Evils.—The Difference between Police and the Functions of Magistrates explained.—Reasons offered in favour of a central Board of Police, as a Channel for previous Inquiry.—The Management of Paupers now become extremely gigantic, not only from their Number but Expense, exceeding the Revenues of most of the Nations in Europe.—The System too extensive for that Species of Management originally provided by the Legislature.—Reasons assigned why it cannot be efficient, by a Detail of what occurs in Practice.—A Proposition to place the Pauper Police Department under a Board of Commissioners.—Their Functions explained: 1. *An accurate Investigation of all Facts relating to the System of the Poor:* 2. *To establish Rules for Alehouses:* 3. *To license certain Classes of suspicious Traders:* 4. *To disseminate useful*

Information among the labouring People, by means of a Police Gazette, extending to Seventy-five Thousand Copies weekly: 5. *To correspond with Magistrates:* 6. *To suggest Improvements in Police:* 7. *To keep a Register of Delinquents:* 8. *To collect the Police Revenue.—Observations explanatory of the Advantages likely to result from these Measures.*

THE best security against *indigence, vagrancy*, and *criminal offences*, will be found in promoting and exciting religious and moral habits among the inferior classes of the community; and it is none of the least of the consolations which attend the present discussion, that the means exist whereby such a favourable turn may be given to the minds of at least a large proportion of the labouring people in every part of the British dominions. Although it is much to be lamented that the lower orders in England are too generally prone to dissolute and immoral propensities, yet no people in Europe, from a characteristic good nature, are more easily governed, or better disposed to be led and directed, by gentle means, in all matters tending to the improvement of their condition, although they will not be driven. Many have been improvident, and have descended into indigence more from deficient education, from the temptations which assail them, from the habit of frequenting and almost living in alehouses, from the first dawn of man-

hood, and from the want of religious and moral instruction in early life, than from any vicious principle in the mind. An attention to their condition by the higher ranks of society, and still more by those who compose the executive government of the country, can scarcely fail, if properly directed, to give a new and favourable turn to their character and dispositions. And here a question arises, how is this great desideratum to be accomplished?

A problem so difficult in the police of any civilized country can only be solved by a previous review of the most prominent evils which afflict society, and by a dispassionate inquiry into the means which the legislature has adopted to prevent them, or to check their progress. It has been shewn that above one million of individuals, in a country containing less than nine millions of inhabitants, have descended into a state of indigence, requiring either total or partial support from the public, to the amount of nearly £4,300,000 a year *. It appears, notwithstanding this great pecuniary sacrifice, that misery, mendicity, and vagrancy prevail to a great extent; and that, including the voluntary aids of the benevolent and humane, the total burdens applicable to *temporary or permanent distress*, and to *indigence, misery, mendicity, and vagrancy*, may be estimated at £8,000,000 a year †. It further appears,

* See page 57. † See page 61.

that mendicity, vagrancy, female prostitution, and criminal offences *, notwithstanding the means which have been pursued, still continue to afflict society with the discouraging prospect of a gradual, and, in the event of peace, a *rapid increase*; and with little expectation of any diminution.

The cause of these evils may be traced principally to *one source*. There exists in this country nothing in the shape of a *systematic superintending police*, calculated to check and prevent the growth and progress of vicious habits, and other irregularities incident to civil society. By the term *police* we are to understand *all those regulations in a country which apply to the comfort, convenience, and safety of the inhabitants*, whether it regards their security against the calamity of indigence, or the effects produced by moral and criminal offences. In discussing subjects of this nature, it is astonishing how much the mind is bewildered for want of a clear conception of the proper division of statistical labour. The duties of *magistrates* are always confounded with those belonging to *police*, without considering that they are separate and distinct: and that the functions of those to whom it ought to be assigned to conduct the police system terminate the moment the exercise of the magisterial duties becomes necessary. The moral, political, or criminal offence, which it was the object of the police to prevent, *is then committed*; and *then*,

* See page 39 to 43.

and not till *then*, are magistrates authorized to interfere.

It is indeed true that there is a species of police applicable to the poor, and in some few instances to the prevention of moral and criminal offences; but the latter scarcely exists any where but on the statute-books; and while it partakes in no respect of the true features of *useful police*, it is without proper springs to put the system in motion. Indeed the whole of the national police is without that watchful and superintending agency which is indispensably necessary to produce a preventive effect; and to this cause is chiefly to be attributed the great increase of indigence, vagrancy, and crimes.

Boards have long been established for conducting the affairs of the revenue, because the intricacy of the subject, and the minute attention to a very complicated system, required the constant attention of able and intelligent individuals. Commissioners have also been appointed in a variety of instances to audit and examine the public accounts, and to disclose abuses which have taken place in the different departments of Government; but the most important, the most laborious, and the most arduous and intricate branch of statistical inquiry, *the regulation of the national police*, has been assigned to no responsible subordinate agency. No effectual means have been established (the Board of Agriculture excepted) for the purpose of

ascertaining useful and minute facts in different branches, of political economy, applicable to the pressures which exist, or may exist, in various parts of the country. No talents have been employed to consider and arrange these facts, if in any instance they have been partially obtained, with a view to suggest a remedy for existing evils. It is the duty of no individual to look to the education of the children of the poor, or to the progress of morals, whether they advance or retrograde; to investigate accurately the various causes of indigence, the management of those to whom it is assigned to relieve, check, and prevent it, or the nature and extent of moral and criminal offences, in all their various ramifications, so as to form an accurate opinion of the proper measures to be pursued, with a view to improve the condition of society in general.

The evils which have been detailed in the progress of this work, are certainly very excessive; and it has been long evident to every enlightened member of the community, that attempts towards a remedy ought not to be delayed; but the pressure perhaps has never been so generally felt as of late years, since the parochial rates for the maintenance of the indigent have so rapidly increased, disclosing through this and other mediums a corresponding increase of vagrancy, idleness, and a general corruption of morals.

In order, however, to discover an effectual re-

medy, there are innumerable minute facts to be ascertained before any accurate judgment can be formed of the best means of ameliorating the condition of the poor.

An intelligent and respectable author (Mr. Ruggles), while he approves of the ground-work, as established by the 43d of Elizabeth, asserts, "*That the "poor laws, which regulate seven millions of people, "form a vague, unconnected, and inconsistent piece "of patch-work; that the management should be "the same as a prudent man would exercise in the "conduct of his own affairs; that the poor are a "large family, and the legislature the master.*"

Admitting the conclusion to be just, it follows of course, that as the structure of the legislature cannot admit of the exercise of the functions of a master, this task must be committed to an agency, representing that august body, and responsible for the due execution of the duties assigned.

Great doubts appear to be justly entertained of the wisdom or policy of disturbing a system so thoroughly identified with the constitution of the country. It is, however, unquestionably susceptible of great improvements. The funds now raised by assessments, and collected by the various classes of individuals who conduct the affairs of 14,611 parishes and places, and the economy of 1970 workhouses, and who deal out relief to above a million of paupers yearly, have become so gigantic as to exceed in their amount the whole aggregate

revenues of several of the kingdoms of Europe, which, heretofore at least, held a considerable rank with respect to power and consequence. They exceed the revenues of Denmark and Sweden nearly threefold; while the general assessments, applicable to all purposes, exceed even the whole revenues of Old Spain *, containing ten millions of people.

Independent of other considerations, the changes which have taken place in the state of society have rendered the system too extensive for the species of management which the legislature originally provided. The portion of intelligence applied to this complicated machine is too scanty, and the duties to be performed are besides often assigned to men who are not only unwilling labourers, but much occupied in the paramount duty of providing for the support of their own families; and even those whose superior education renders them more competent to so difficult a task, and who are disposed to execute it with zeal, fidelity, and intelligence, are not seldom soured or disgusted by the opposition they experience in all attempts to challenge unequal assessments, or to reform existing abuses; and being unable to enforce such necessary

* In 1785, according to Mr. Coxe, the revenue of Denmark amounted to - - - £1,500,000 sterling.
The revenue of Sweden - 1,443,574
According to Mr. M'Arthur, the revenue of Old Spain, before the war, about 5,000,000
According to Mr. Tooke, the revenue of Russia is estimated at - - 8,500,000

improvements, they have no alternative but to abandon the pursuit, and leave the parochial affairs to the management of interested juntos, who out-vote all that attempt to oppose their own system, however erroneous and expensive it may be.

Such improvements, therefore, as may be suggested by individuals of greater intelligence and more extensive information are rejected, and the proposers considered as innovators and intruders. In all such cases there is no remedy, because there is no adequate control or superintending authority to which an appeal can be made.

In the general distribution of the funds assigned for the relief of the indigent, there is seldom much discrimination. There is no time for minute inquiry,—the object is to get rid of the unfortunate applicant in the easiest manner. The management and mode of giving relief often vary as much as the parishes are different from one another. The general economy is often irregular, ill digested, and not seldom the effect of momentary impulse: the result is, that parish officers, thus guided by no fixed principle, are sometimes right and often wrong. Established regulations are frequently changed, according to the caprice or conceited opinion of a new officer, who adopts a theory of his own, equally erroneous with that of his predecessor. Some are anxious to acquire credit by diminishing the rates, which reduces virtuous indigence often to great and unnecessary distress;

while others, careless and improvident of money not their own, give encouragement to vice and idleness by a profuse and indiscriminate distribution.

Other instances occur, where paupers requiring relief, are sent from one repulsive officer to another, until at length, wearied out by fruitless attendance, and unskilled in the art of impudent importunity, which characterizes *vicious* indigence, or disgusted by the contumely and abuse with which they are loaded, they retire to their miserable abodes, if they have any, and pine and die by inches for want of sufficient sustenance.

Various other reasons could be assigned why a general superintending authority has become indispensably necessary. The system (metaphorically considered) may be compared to a ship at sea without a rudder, or a complicated machine divested of the mechanical powers necessary to produce a regular or correct motion.

Combining the immense expenditure which attaches to the relief of the indigent with the other disbursements connected with objects of police, criminal offences and punishments, exclusive of what is expended in roads, bridges, militia-men's families, soldiers' baggage, &c. extending upon the whole to about £4,581,600 sterling * yearly, and

* Expense applicable solely to the poor in 1803 £4,267,965
Expense applicable to prisons, houses of correction, prisoners' trials, witnesses, coroners' ex-

Carried over £4,267,965

involving in the general details innumerable items requiring investigation and control, but still more, embracing objects more immediately and closely connected with the best interests of society, "*that of "regulating the economy and improving the morals "of the poor, and thereby ameliorating their condi-"tion: by the adoption of measures calculated to pre-"vent moral, political, and criminal offences*;"—it should seem, that the first measure to be adopted is to place this great and important department of *general and internal police*, under the superintendence of a board, composed of the most able and intelligent individuals that can be found in the country, to be under the control of His Majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, to whom the legislature must look forward from time to time for such reports and suggestions as shall ultimately produce the most perfect legislative system which human wisdom can devise, aided by an accurate knowledge of facts, and by judgments

Brought over	£4,267,965
penses, rewards, vagrants, &c. from the county rate, about	150,000
Expense applicable to convicts, as reported to the House of Commons, in hulks and New South Wales	120,036
Expense of rewards to persons apprehending offenders and bringing them to conviction	9,650
Other expenses applicable to establishments in the metropolis	34,000
	£4,581,651

matured by practice and experience in all the various branches of internal police.

In order more clearly to elucidate the great advantages which are likely to result to the country by the establishment of such a board, in reducing the national expenditure and in improving the condition of society in general, it is only necessary to give the following brief detail of the

FUNCTIONS PROPOSED.

I.

That *a board of general and internal police* should be established, nearly on the plan so strongly recommended to Parliament by the Select Committee on Finance, in their twenty-eighth Report, made in the year 1798, but with functions considerably extended, so as to embrace all objects in any degree connected with the casualties of life or a retrograde state of morals, producing *indigence*, *vagrancy*, or *criminal offences*; with an immediate view to the adoption of the best and most effectual measures which *intelligence*, *labour*, and *investigation*, aided by a *thorough knowledge of facts*, can suggest, for the purpose of increasing the productive labour of the country, encouraging industry, checking idleness and vagrancy, and securing the peaceful subject (as far as circumstances will permit) against the injuries arising from criminal offences. With this particular view, to take cognizance of the affairs of paupers in every parish in

the kingdom, under certain limitations hereafter explained; and to be authorized to apply for information to the resident ministers, parochial officers, and high constables, on the following points:

1. The number of indigent persons totally supported, specifying their respective ages, former occupations, state of health, the number and ages of their children, whether maintained in or out of a workhouse; the number of adults and youths employed in labour, the species of labour; the children employed in schools of industry, the nature of the labour they perform, and the profit arising from the labour of both, after deducting the cost of raw materials and all other expenses. The causes which have produced indigence, applicable to each class, whether innocent or culpable; the period they remained chargeable; the yearly expense incurred; the place of birth; the character of husband or wife, or of individuals if unmarried. Whether blind, lame, decrepit, or from insanity or any other cause incapable of labour; with such other queries as may be thought pertinent: the whole to be arranged in the form of a table, with columns to be filled up by the persons to whom they are transmitted.

2. A similar table, exhibiting the names, ages, and occupations of the paupers removed: the reasons assigned for such removals, the parish to which removed, the distance and the specific expense applicable to each removal.

3. A table, exhibiting in columns the whole aggregate expenses of the parish, in lodging, clothing,

food, medical assistance, removals, law charges, expense of public meetings, and all other disbursements, arranged under distinct heads.

4. A table, shewing the rental of the parish, the rate assessed, whether on rack rent or reduced, to what extent reduced; the number of persons who actually pay the assessment, and the amount; the number liable to pay who are excused, the ground of exemption, rental, and the sum to which the assessments would amount of the persons so exempted, also the number of persons totally exempted.

5. A table, exhibiting in columns the specific food of different kinds usually consumed by the poor, detailing each article comprising their common diet and beverage, with the expense, according to the prices for the time being, calculated to be consumed by a single person; by a man and his wife; by a family comprising a man, wife, and one child—two children—three children—four children—five children.

6. A table, shewing the usual rent paid for houses, cottages, or lodgings, for the different classes of the poor, according to their families.

7. A table, shewing the usual earnings of mechanics and labourers, divided into classes, according to their respective occupations.

8. A table, shewing the number of apprentices in each parish, arranged according to the agricultural, mechanical, and other employments in which they are engaged, and distinguishing the male from the female apprentices; also the number of the youth of both sexes not bound out to masters.

9. A table, shewing the resource for employment in each parish, arising from *agricultural labour*, *handicraft labour*, *manufactures*, *trade*, *shipping*, *canals*, *mines*, or other public works; stating whether there is an abundance or a scarcity of labour, and if scarce, the cause of such scarcity, and the number of labourers and handicrafts out of employment for the time being, and of what class and description.

10. The number of schools for the education of children of the poor in the parish; the wages paid for education; the number of children educated; the number above six years uneducated, with the reason, whether from inability of parents or any other cause.

11. The general state of morals in the parish; whether the inferior classes are generally sober and industrious, or the reverse, or in what degree and proportion.

12. The number of vagrants or mendicants who are in the habits of asking alms in the parish, assigning reasons why they are permitted to do so.

13. A return, from the high constable, of the number of vagrants passed, by contract or otherwise, and the expense incurred on their account.

14. That, on receiving the said returns, the commissioners, or two or more assigned to the pauper department, shall systematize and digest them, and, from the minute facts thus disclosed, shall once in every year report the results to His Majesty's principal secretary of state, with such

propositions for the improvement of the pauper system, as the facts disclosed shall suggest to their minds to be proper.

15. That the commissioners shall in the mean time be authorized to suggest such regulations for the general economy and management of the pauper police in each parish, as shall appear to them to be best calculated to *relieve the indigent requiring assistance, to prop up the industrious poor ready to descend into indigence,* from sickness or other casualties, and generally to offer such advice as shall not only tend to correct abuses in the management of the pauper system, but also to ameliorate, as far as possible, the condition of the labouring people in every part of England and Wales.

II.

That, as the prevention of indigence depends in so great a degree on the morals of the labouring people, the commissioners shall be authorized to call upon the clerks of the peace of the different counties for lists of the names of persons licensed to sell ale, beer, and other liquors, in each parish, with the sign of the house, whether an inn, tavern, coffeehouse, hotel, or common alehouse, and to establish rules and orders for the proper conduct of such houses, varying the same according to circumstances and locality *.

* Vide Appendix, No. I. for a copy of the rules and orders for regulating alehouses, which were framed by the author about fourteen years ago, and since adopted in many of the licensing divisions in the metropolis.

III.

With a view also to the establishment of a system for the prevention of criminal offences, generally the offspring of idleness and loose and immoral conduct; and to prevent the extensive operation of the existing facilities and temptations which are afforded by the numerous purchasers of stolen goods, and the consequent loss of character producing indigence; the commissioners shall be likewise authorized to call for a return of all the following classes of dealers in each parish in the kingdom.

1. Purchasers of second-hand household goods, for sale.

2. Wholesale purchasers of rags and unserviceable cordage, for sale to paper-makers.

3. Retail purchasers of rags and unserviceable cordage, for sale to paper-makers.

4. Purchasers of second-hand apparel, made-up piece-goods, and remnants, for sale.

5. Walking itinerant purchasers of second-hand apparel and other articles, for sale.

6. Purchasers of second-hand naval stores, for sale.

7. Wholesale purchasers of second-hand metals, for sale.

8. Retail purchasers of second-hand metals, for sale.

9. Purchasers of second-hand building materials, for sale.

10. Pawnbrokers, in town and country.

11. Persons keeping slaughtering-houses for horses and other animals not food for man.

12. Collar-makers, fell-mongers, and others slaying and skinning horses in the country.

13. Dealers in horses, and persons who buy horses to sell for profit.

14. Persons (not employed in His Majesty's mint) setting up and working any engine for cutting round blanks, or any stamping-press, fly rolling mill, or other instrument for flatting, stamping, or marking metals, or bank notes, or which, with the assistance of any matrix, stamp, die, or plate, will stamp coin, or bank notes.

15. Hawkers and pedlars, including all petty hawkers, duffers, and all descriptions of itinerants selling small wares.

16. Hackney-coaches in the metropolis, and the names and places of abode of all hackney-coachmen who ply in the night-time.

For the purpose of establishing that species of control which the present state of society has rendered necessary to preserve the privileges of innocence, the commissioners to be authorized to grant licenses to the sixteen classes of persons hereinbefore mentioned, to receive such license-duties as shall be authorized by Parliament. Licenses to persons residing twenty miles from the metropolis to be granted by the justices at their special meetings, once in every year for the licensing of alehouses. And the commissioners to be authorized to establish a system of control, applicable to each of the said occupations, and to lay down rules according to which the same should be conducted.

IV.

The commissioners shall cause to be published once every week *a Police Gazette*, to be edited by a fit person under their control and responsibility, which shall be confined totally and exclusively to the following objects, with an immediate view to excite in the minds of the labouring people a strong sense of moral virtue, loyalty, and love of their country; to forewarn the unwary, and to arrest the hands of evil-doers by appropriate admonitions, introduced in plain and familiar language, upon the following

PLAN.

1. Each Gazette to contain a short abstract of some existing act of Parliament, divested of technical phraseology; selecting those which are particularly applicable to religious, moral, and criminal offences, and to masters and servants in various trades: to carts and other carriages on the highways; to combinations among journeymen, in various trades; to masters and apprentices, detailing the duties of each; the leading features of the pawnbroker's act, with the interest which may be legally taken; also the acts respecting hawkers and pedlars, and all others calculated to guard the lower classes against fraud and imposition; with suitable short commentaries on each abstract, with a view to apprise them of the penalties they incur by offending against each respective law, and of the advantages which will result to them from a strict obedience,

particularly to those laws which regard the defence of their country against the enemy—the advantages they derive in their own country in privileges and in assistance during distress, above what is to be found in any other nation in the world.

11. Occasional short essays, conveyed in familiar language, enlivened and rendered interesting by the introduction of *narrative*, as often as circumstances will admit, on the following subjects:

Criminal Offences.

1. On treason.
2. On sedition. } Disloyalty to the king.
3. On combinations of workmen.
4. On mobs and unlawful assemblies.
5. On fighting and breaches of the peace.
6. On cheating.
7. On receiving stolen goods.
8. On stealing in any way from masters or others.
9. Stealing turnips, potatoes, or other vegetables.
10. Stealing corn on pretence of gleaning.
11. Stealing horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, or poultry.
12. Stealing fence-rails or brushwood.
13. Housebreaking.
14. Highway robbery.
15. Footpad robbery.
16. Rape, or violation of female chastity.
17. Wilful burning houses, barns, or stacks.
18. Manslaughter.

19. Wounding or maiming any person.

20. Murder.

Occasional observations on the horrors of a gaol; on punishments—whipping, the pillory, the hulks, transportation, and public execution.

Religious and moral Duties.

1. On breaches of the Lord's Day and regular attendance at church.

2. On providence and economy.

3. On industry, honesty, and truth.

4. On sloth and idleness, and lounging in ale-houses.

5. On lying and dissimulation.

6. Duties of a good husband.

7. Duties of a good wife.

8. On a good example to children and apprentices.

9. On a religious and moral education to children.

10. On the duty of providing for a family.

11. On the duty of children to parents.

12. On the duty of parents to children.

13. On frugal housewifery.

14. On the duty of masters to apprentices.

15. On the duty of apprentices to masters.

16. On the advantages of a good character.

17. On the disadvantages of a bad character.

18. On female chastity.

19. On the infamy of female seduction.

20. On frugality and sobriety.

21. On frugal cookery, with occasional receipts.

22. On patience under adversity.

23. On the government of the passions.

24. On the commendable pride of rearing a family without parish assistance.

III. Occasional essays on the great advantages arising from a provident care of the earnings of labour during early life, and the benefits to be obtained by entering into friendly societies, and thereby making a provision against hurts, accidents, sickness, want of work, infirmity, and old age: to be placed in various points of view, repeated frequently, and exemplified by narratives of the benefits others have derived from these institutions, in preventing them from falling into the degraded state of paupers.

IV. Occasional extracts from the Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor, and other works, shewing the happiness enjoyed by the industrious cottager, labourer, and handicraft, contrasted with the misery attached to the idle and dissolute.

V. To introduce the following articles of police information, viz.

1. A list and description of deserters from the army, navy, marines, and militia, mentioning the penalties incurred for harbouring deserters, and the rewards allowed for apprehending them, with suitable observations, to be occasionally introduced, shewing the evils arising from desertion.

2. Advertisements for the apprehension of different offenders, describing their persons and the rewards for apprehending them.

3. A summary view of the offences tried at the general and quarter sessions of the peace in each county, city, and town, in England and Wales, shewing the number of persons convicted, the punishments inflicted, the number of acquittals and discharges by gaol delivery, without mentioning names.

4. A summary view of the higher offences tried at the assizes in each county, twice a year, in England and Wales, shewing in like manner the convictions, punishments, and discharges by gaol delivery.

5. The number of convicts sent for punishment to the hulks, with appropriate observations.

6. The number of convicts sent to New South Wales, with proper remarks.

7. An account of the different malefactors, stating their behaviour at the place of execution, with commentaries suited to the comprehension of the vulgar, tending to operate as warnings, and to excite a dread of crimes.

In order to bring these Police Gazettes under the notice and inspection of all classes likely to benefit by their circulation, or in a manner advantageous to the nation at large, that they should be distributed in the following manner:

	Estimated number of papers weekly.
1. One copy to each of the great officers of state. 2. One copy to each of the acting resident magistrates in each county, city, town, and place. 3. One copy to the high sheriff of each county in England and Wales. 4. One copy to the high constable in each hundred or licensing division. 5. One copy to each public office in the metropolis. 6. One copy to each of the public offices in Birmingham and Manchester, &c. 7. One copy to the clerks of the peace in each county. 8. One copy to the minister, churchwardens, and overseers of each parish.	25,000
9. One copy to each public house licensed to sell ale, beer, and other liquors, in England and Wales, that they may be seen and perused by all the labouring people, who frequent licensed alehouses; the number of which is here estimated at -	50,000
Total	75,000

As these papers will contain nothing of what is denominated *news*, although much that will be infinitely more beneficial in disseminating useful information, calculated to improve the morals of the people, no stamp will be required, and they may be afforded at an expense of not more than one penny halfpenny weekly for each paper.

V. It will be the duty of the commissioners to receive information, and to correspond with the magistrates in every county, city, and corporate and other town, in England and Wales, respecting all matters connected with the functions assigned to them; and to receive from the justices in sessions, a periodical return of the state of all gaols and houses of correction, specifying in a table, according to a form to be prescribed, the number of prisoners, their offences, the manner in which they are employed in houses of correction, the diet and clothing, the expense incurred in each year, the raw materials purchased, the manufactured articles sold, the profit derived from the labour of the prisoners, the salaries of the gaoler, chaplain, surgeon, and other persons employed, and all other information necessary to enable the board to form a complete judgment as to the improvements necessary to be recommended by an accurate inspection of each return, and by comparing one return with another.

VI. It will be the duty of the commissioners to avail themselves of the practical experience they

may acquire, by suggesting from time to time to His Majesty's principal secretary of state, such improvements in the system of *pauper police*, and in all the branches of *the general police of the country*, as may appear to them to be necessary, assigning their reasons for such amendments, in a detailed report, for the ultimate consideration of Parliament.

VII. It will be the duty of the commissioners to keep a distinct alphabetical register of all idle, suspicious, and criminal persons, with their descriptions, who are reported to them from time to time to be at large, and in the course of committing offences in any part of the country, that there may be a centre point of intelligence, for the purpose of detecting and apprehending such persons, thus in the course of committing depredations upon the peaceful subject.

VIII. It will be the duty of the commissioners to collect and receive the revenues applicable to the fiscal branches placed under their management, and, after deducting the expenses, to pay the surplus into the receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer; following such orders in this respect as they may receive from the lords commissioners of the Treasury, to whom the receipts and disbursements shall be reported quarterly.

Many other sources of revenue, arising from useful police regulations, might be placed under the management of this central board, which would

prove in a certain degree productive, without being felt as a burden, while they operated powerfully in checking frauds and penal offences, without at all abridging the liberty of the useful part of the community.

It is here to be observed, that nothing is proposed that has the least tendency to disturb, alter, or amend the existing statutary system, with respect to the management of paupers, or even to control that management in the smallest degree. The functions of the commissioners are of a nature merely *inquisitorial*, except in as far as advice and suggestion extend. The object is, in the first instance, to acquire that stock of knowledge and accurate and minute information, which may ultimately lead to those improvements, which shall be the result of deep reflection, on the various important statistical facts, which would through this medium be disclosed: without such previous information it would be an act of great temerity to attempt any reform; since, in order to render the system complete, a great variety of collateral as well as direct measures will be necessary, but above all, that paramount watchful superintendence which shall guide and direct this very complicated machine.

There exist in the metropolis, and almost in every large town in the kingdom, certain suspicious and dangerous trades; the uncontrolled exercise of which, by persons of loose conduct, is known to

contribute in a very high degree to the multiplication of crimes, from the facilities held out by the purchase of articles which may be pilfered, with scarcely any chance of detection; but which would be otherwise secure, did not such facilities for the ready and immediate disposal exist.

The power, therefore, proposed to be vested in the central board, to call for a return of the number of persons exercising these trades, and to regulate them by means of licenses, is a measure strongly recommended six years ago by the Select Committee of the House of Commons *, than which nothing can operate more powerfully as a barrier against those temptations which lead to criminal offences. It will admit of a considerable extension after the system is fully matured, and when thus aided by a centre point and superintending agency, would go very far towards the prevention at least of minor crimes; since, upon this foundation, a superstructure may be gradually raised that would do much to preserve and secure the privilege of innocence, and to check the growing corruption of morals, and the numerous temptations to the commission of petty offences.

The habit of frequenting alehouses, so universal among the inferior orders of society (which of late years extends in no inconsiderable degree to *women* and *youths* as well as men), renders it of great im-

* See the twenty-eighth Report of the Select Committee on Finance, 1798.

portance to the morals of the people, that rules and orders (varied in some respects according to local circumstances) should be enforced with respect to publicans of every description; and the proposed commissioners, as the general guardians of the morals of the people, seem to be the proper source from which such regulations should issue, since otherwise, in many instances, omissions would take place, and uniformity could not be expected. Many improvements could be suggested with regard to publicans, favourable to health and good morals, which it would be the province of the central board, after facts were ascertained, to offer to the consideration of Parliament.

The proposed Police Gazette, from its extensive circulation, from the matter it would contain, and from the general and unexampled diffusion of good instruction and useful information, conveyed to all ranks of the community, but particularly the labouring classes of the people, could not fail to operate powerfully with respect to the general improvement of morals, since it would be every where accessible, operating as an incentive to virtue and industry, and as an antidote to vice and idleness.

It is thus that the manners and moral habits of the adults, comprising the labouring classes, are gradually to be improved. It is by this species of attention that they are to be persuaded of the advantages resulting from industry, frugality,

and temperance. It is by these and other measures, suggested in the course of this work, that the number of paupers are to be reduced, indigence raised in many instances to a state of independent poverty, vagrancy lessened, and moral and criminal offences, which so much swell the calendars of delinquency, greatly diminished. It is by such gentle and indirect means that the stock of the national industry is to be increased, and the parochial assessments brought within a moderate compass.

The great object is first to establish *a foundation, a rallying point, a centre of action, a fixed responsible agency*, a resource of *talents, knowledge, application*, and *industry*, equal, if possible, to the difficult task of improving the condition of society in all those ramifications, where a gangrene either exists, or is threatened.

1. By diminishing the number of the innocent indigent by judicious and timely props.

2. By restoring the culpable indigent to at least an useful condition in society, by a variety of combined regulations, applicable to persons discharged from prisons and unable to obtain work for want of character:—to others, under similar circumstances, in point of character, who have not been imprisoned:—to unfortunate females, abandoned by the world and degraded by prostitution:—to the race of gypsies and others imitating their manners: to vagrants of all descriptions:—and finally, to the

means of diminishing the temptations and resources which are rendered so prolific for the commission of moral and criminal offences.

And thus, by an all-pervading system of well-regulated police, having its chief seat or central point in the metropolis, and from thence maintaining a close and connected chain of correspondence, by receiving information and communicating the same with regularity and promptitude to all parts of the kingdom, by a permanent authority, competent (in consequence of the continually accumulating fund of information and experience so collected and preserved) to report to His Majesty in Parliament such measures as shall in any degree be conducive to the great objects of the institution—*The improvement of the condition of the labouring people—the increase of the productive labour of the country—the more effectual prevention of moral and criminal offences—to the lessening the demand for punishment—the diminution of the public burdens attached to pauper and criminal police, by turning the hearts and arresting the hands of evil-doers—by forewarning the unwary, and preserving in innocence the untainted*; thus returning to police its genuine character, unmixed with those judicial powers which lead to punishment, and properly belong to magistracy alone.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MEANS OF PREVENTING VIRTUOUS POVERTY FROM DESCENDING INTO INDIGENCE.

A national System, enabling the Poor from their own Resources to provide against Casualties and Indigence.—Its great Importance explained.—A general View of the Progress and present State of Friendly Societies.—The Number in England and Wales.—The Imperfections of the System elucidated.—Reasons assigned why they can never be useful to the Extent expected.—The Contingencies incident to Poverty requiring Relief explained.—Suggestions offered for extending the Scheme to those Contingencies, producing beneficial Aids to 3,500,000 *Members, by leading the Poor into the Way of helping themselves.—A national Deposit Bank for parochial Societies proposed.—The Construction of the Establishment explained.—The proposed monthly Deposits detailed.—First general Meeting to form parochial Societies.—Second Meeting to choose a Committee of Managers.—Functions of the Committee explained.—His Majesty to appoint Directors of the national Deposit Bank.—Functions of the Directors explained.—General Re-*

gulations detailed for the Government of the Institution.—Concluding Observations on the great Utility of the Measure.

It has been shewn, in the progress of this work, that the virtuous poor are subject to numerous casualties incident to a state of civilization, by which they may retrograde into indigence, without any culpable cause. A national system, which would enable this valuable part of the community, from their own resources, *effectually* to provide against such a degradation, producing unmerited misery and distress, would be *a godlike work.*—To this class, contingent aids are peculiarly applicable, and it is through this medium, under a well-constructed *national institution*, that security is to be afforded against the calamity of indigence, either in the progress of human life, while labour remains in their possession, or in old age, when it ceases to be productive.

Friendly societies appear to have existed in most parts of Great Britain at least from the commencement of the preceding century; but their progress was slow until within the last fifty years, since which period they have gradually increased. In the year 1793 they were first recognised by the legislature, and assisted by some provisions calculated to give a legal feature * to these associations, and greater

* Of this legal feature many of the societies, however, have not chosen to avail themselves; since out of 9672 associations

security with respect to their funds *. But the organization and general economy of the system is left to their own invention †, and the appeal to magistrates is not accompanied by any authority to enforce their decisions, while even this privilege to aggrieved members is removed by the power granted to settle all matters of dispute by arbitrators, in case provision shall be made for that purpose in the general rules of the society, according to which such arbitrators shall be elected; and there being no appeal from their award, a member rendered obnoxious by complaints, not uttered in always the most refined language, may thus be excluded, or deprived of what magistrates might deem just to grant, without any remedy: and it is to be feared this has happened on not a few occasions, since experience has shewn what an imperfect idea of

only 5428 are returned as having placed themselves under the act, by enrolment at the sessions; but the returns are incomplete in this respect, as to Devonshire, Carnarvon, and the Holland division of the county of Lincoln.—See Parliamentary Report.

* 33 Geo. 3, cap. 54.—35 Geo. 3, cap. 111.

† The expenses incurred in salaries and allowances to secretaries and stewards, and in several instances to committees, assistants, and cashiers, including stationary and other charges, press hard upon the very limited funds of friendly societies: and if to this shall be added the money spent in alehouses, the numerous fines incurred, and still more the time spent (valuable to labouring people) in attending the various meetings, it is probable that the whole amounts to ten per cent. on the stock subscribed, which may perhaps somewhat exceed one million sterling.

justice is entertained by illiterate and half-informed individuals; and how frequently the bias, generated by ill-regulated passions and personal resentments, leans upon the wrong side, and ultimately produces hard-hearted decisions, not always to be reconciled to principles of justice, humanity, or moral rectitude. This must have been obvious to all magistrates who have had much access to investigate the disputes and claims of members of friendly societies; and it partly accounts for these appeals being lessened, since, in general, in all new rules submitted to the consideration of the author previous to enrolment, the *arbitration clause* has been for the most part inserted, thereby putting an end to the jurisdiction and interference of justices. Friendly societies in general are formed and directed by individuals who have had some portion of education, sufficient perhaps to elevate them, at least in their own estimation, above their associates. Although generally well-intentioned, they are not seldom of an intriguing disposition; and possessing an infirmity common to most men, *a love of power*, and a desire to possess consequence, they believe (as all persons half educated with such propensities generally believe) that they are competent to the task of forming rules. The bulk of the individuals invited to associate understand but little of the import or probable operation of such rules. The effect of the arbitration clause, excluding the appeals to magistrates,

and others, inserted perhaps with particular views, is neither seen nor understood, until some occurrence or contingency disclose the imperfection.

There are however two objects, respecting which all members of friendly societies appear to be particularly tenacious, although in their nature destructive of the excellent and valuable purposes which ought to result from such institutions, and which have tended, and it is to be feared will ever tend to check their progress towards those ultimate benefits which ought to be expected from designs apparently so well constructed for securing the associated members against the calamity of indigence.

It appears to be an uniform provision in the numerous constitutions of friendly societies, which have passed under the inspection of the author, that an unnecessary expense shall be incurred and paid out of the funds for what is called *a decent funeral* for a deceased member, or his wife, and a further more considerable sum in money to the widow on the death of her husband. In the one instance it enriches the *undertaker*, and in the other the *mercer* and *milliner*; since the funeral and the *decent* mournings generally exhaust all that the family of the deceased member is entitled to receive for his contributions, perhaps for a great length of years. There may be no doubt exceptions to this prevailing and ill-judged

practice; but there are none within the author's recollection. The result is generally calamitous, since in a few months the widow and orphans of a deceased member are frequently without a shilling to support them. It is earnestly to be hoped that this waste of a most useful property does not extend to the societies in the country, though it is much to be feared, where not controlled by the influence of a more enlightened local agency, that it is too generally the case.

But this is not the only evil which attaches to friendly societies as at present constituted. It seems to be a general rule, established among all of them, not only that the landlords of alehouses shall hold the purse, or at least the box where the money is deposited for current disbursements; but also that there shall be *seventeen general meetings in the course of a year* (at least in the metropolis), namely, *twelve monthly meetings, four quarterly meetings,* and an *annual feast*. The evil arising from these frequent meetings is of a twofold nature, *moral* and *political*, which is perhaps not seen at first view.

Those who determine to associate with others for the accommodations and props which friendly societies are naturally expected to afford, are generally of a sober and provident turn of mind. They are not in the habit of frequenting public houses, and are generally ignorant of the fascinat-

ing charms which are to be found in social meetings. These charms at length seduce them; their character often assumes a new form; the irresistible gratifications to be found in convivial songs and in cheerful company, allure them from their business and their families, and frequently produce idleness and dissolute habits among individuals, who, but for these temptations, would have continued to live sober and exemplary lives.

It appears from the Parliamentary Reports in 1803, that 9672 friendly societies are returned as established in England and Wales, comprising 704,350 members, averaging nearly 73 members to each society, and eight in a hundred of the resident population. Supposing the same number of meetings to take place in the different provincial towns and villages as in the metropolis, the aggregate would amount to 164,424 assemblies of friendly societies in public houses in the course of a year *.

Happily for the nation, this can at present excite no alarm; but there was a period, not very remote, when such a circumstance would not have been regarded with indifference; and such a period, in the course of human events, may come again, when

* These 164,424 meetings, including the after-reckonings when the business of the club is over, can scarcely be estimated at less than £420,000 a year, allowing each member (including the annual feast) to spend only about 9*d.* on an average.

numerous societies of ill-informed individuals, open to seduction, and heated by political frenzy, artfully worked up, and holding 164,424 public meetings, under a benevolent and legal pretence, at 9672 different alehouses, may alarm and afflict the peaceful subject: and here a question arises, how far it may be practicable to organize these excellent institutions, so as on the one hand to render them productive of benefits infinitely more extensive to the parties interested, and on the other to divest them of their tendency to moral and political evil.

It is unquestionably true, that the generally well-intentioned promoters of these friendly societies are unskilled in algebraical calculations, and in those qualities which are necessary to estimate with accuracy the contingencies applicable to the objects they wish to attain: and hence it is that those who have access to consider their regulations and adjudicate on their disputes will generally admit, that the advantages are not equal to what might have been expected from associations so constituted. Erroneous in most instances in their calculations, under which they are pledged to draw upon their funds, their little stock is not seldom annihilated before they are aware of it, or the box is shut up against all relief, by which old members who have contributed for a series of years are frequently disappointed and deceived with respect to that assistance, during sickness and infirmity,

to which they had looked forward as a prop to old age. It is indeed true, that in some more modern societies this inconvenience is attempted to be remedied by occasional advances which the members are bound to make, to prevent the funds from being reduced below a certain amount; but such calls are often inconvenient and burdensome to the parties, for which they are seldom prepared; and when combined with the wages and allowances to the clerk, stewards, and other officers, the different fines, and the money expended at the numerous public meetings, the benefits derived bear no proportion to what they might be made to produce under a better arranged system.

Instead of embracing that wide range of relief, of which the scheme is eminently susceptible, it generally extends only to *temporary sickness*, funerals, and a small sum to the widow or nominee, which (as has been already observed) is generally wasted in unnecessarily expensive mournings.

These societies are greatly deficient in another respect, since persons advanced in years, and above a certain age, although their lives are insurable, cannot be admitted, even although they were willing and able to pay an increased premium to the club, in order to counterbalance the risk arising from increased years. Individuals employed also in trades and occupations, such as *white lead works* and others, which are supposed to be in-

jurious to health, are generally excluded, although disposed to pay an additional premium; neither are these societies open to men whose indiscretions have placed them in a degraded state in society, although they might be disposed to avail themselves of such contingent aids, under a disposition to amend their lives.

The human character is greatly diversified, not less in vulgar life than in superior stations. Those who during the last and the present century have entered into friendly societies generally comprise that class who are known to be provident and discreet, and prone to look forward to the casualties of life. But the most numerous body, comprising the mass of the labouring people, being generally ill educated, without any provident habits, are not likely to find relief (for the reasons already assigned) through the medium of these societies, to any considerable extent, unless guided and led on by facilities which at present do not exist. Looking at the general population of England and Wales, and including therein a certain proportion of women (since they too have separate societies), it may fairly be concluded that 3,500,000 adults are eligible to be admitted to the benefits resulting from a yearly deposit of a small sum of money out of their earnings, to receive in return a corresponding aid, under the following *contingencies:*

1. In case of sickness or accident, a certain weekly allowance.

2. A small allowance on the birth of a child, to defray lying-in expenses.

3. An allowance on the death of any member of the family.

4. An allowance to compensate any loss or casualty by fire, the loss of a cow, a horse, or any useful animal upon which the support of a family may partly depend.

5. A small annuity to a widow, in proportion to the family requiring nurture, or in lieu thereof, a sum of money to enable her to carry on some business.

6. A moderate sum for apprenticing a child.

7. A small annuity to persons infirm or past labour from old age.

A well-regulated system, judiciously promulgated under the sanction of Government, would work wonders in promoting provident and careful habits among the labouring people, which is indeed what is principally wanted to ameliorate their condition, and to render them happy and comfortable; and perhaps through no other medium will it be possible to establish a hedge or barrier against the misfortunes of indigence.

We live in an age when insurances upon contingencies are ramifying in all directions, and we have seen in the operations of the sinking fund

(that inestimable *prop* to the national credit) by what rapid strides large capitals may be made to accumulate, if placed under a proper guidance *. Supposing such a guidance to exist, and that 3,500,000 of the labourers, handicrafts, mechanics, and inferior tradesmen in England were to place in this deposit on an average only three shillings and fourpence a month, extending from *one shilling* to *ten* according to their circumstances, the aggregate would amount to *seven millions sterling a year!* Of these seven millions, supposing five millions sufficient in each year for the contingencies which would arise, and the remaining two millions to accumulate as a capital—what would be the result in twenty or thirty years? The capital would unquestionably be immense. An encouragement would be held out to provident habits, which would give a new character to the mass of the people.

* The sinking fund of one million, established in August 1786, had increased, on the 1st of May 1806, by accumulation, to an annual income of — — £3,131,510

The one per cent. on all loans since 1793, produced in 1796 — — — — 4,844,227

The one per cent. on the Imperial loan since 1797, produced in 1796 — — — 56,886

Total £8,032,623

Besides the money at different periods applied in the purchase of stock from these funds, amounting in the whole, on the 1st May 1806, to £104,738,000!

Difficulties will no doubt occur in carrying such a scheme into practice; but where is the difficulty which has not been overcome, when the pressures of the nation required the exertion of the genius and talents of statesmen to procure revenues, which could not have been supposed a few years back to have been practicable?

The great desideratum in political economy is to lead the poor, by gentle and practicable means, *into the way of helping themselves.* Establish a system that shall not only convince them that they have a stake in the country as well as the rich; but that the government and the legislature will place that stake on so secure and respectable a footing, that they may look up to it with certainty as a relief in time of sickness, and a prop to old age; and success will be the result. Include the navy and army in the same national design, that they too may partake of its benefits, and that there may be an inducement to spare a little (while they can spare it) to prevent themselves and their families from descending into indigence.

There are many able calculators in this kingdom, perfectly competent to the task of framing tables applicable to the deposits and contingencies, which have been proposed as the basis of

A national Deposit Bank for parochial Societies.

The practicability of such an institution will be best elucidated by entering into some details ex-

planatory of the ideas which the author has formed as to the organization of such a system: with respect to its utility, it is too self-evident to require any further explanation; the advantages resulting from it to the nation would be incalculable.

The Construction of the Establishment.

1. It is humbly suggested, that a *national Deposit Bank for parochial societies* should be established in the metropolis, under the immediate sanction of Government, with branches in certain districts of the country, conveniently situated, to be managed by a president and five directors, with three sub-directors to each district branch, to receive such deposits as should be paid by the managers of parochial societies, constituted in the manner hereafter explained, entitling the individuals composing such societies to the contingent benefits arising from their respective deposits according to tables accurately calculated.

The proposed Deposits under different Classes.

2. The payments shall be made monthly, according to classes, leaving it to every member to choose his own class. The premiums or deposits to apply to lives from 20 to 30 years, and to advance, according to a scale to be calculated, up to 60 years of age, so as to exclude no person able

and willing to make such advance upon the fixed rate, namely,

1st Class to comprise those who can only spare 1*s.* monthly, or 12*s.* a year				
2d Class	1*s.* 6*d.*	£0	18	0
3d Class	2*s.* - -	1	4	0
4th Class	2*s.* 6*d.* -	1	10	0
5th Class	3*s.* - -	1	16	0
6th Class	3*s.* 6*d.* -	2	2	0
7th Class	4*s.* - -	2	8	0
8th Class	5*s.* - -	3	0	0
9th Class	6*s.* - -	3	12	0
10th Class	7*s.* - -	4	0	0
11th Class	8*s.* - -	4	16	0
12th Class	9*s.* - -	5	8	0
13th Class	10*s.* - -	6	0	0

With additional sums for the increased age above 30, according to a scale to be settled.

First general Meetings to form the Societies.

3. After all the calculations are made upon the contingencies, or benefits applicable to each class, and the rules thoroughly digested and printed, six copies of each shall be sent to the officiating resident minister and churchwardens of each parish in the kingdom, who shall call together the overseers and other head managers of the parish to fix a day for convening the parishioners at large, to whom the scheme, with all its advantages, shall be fully disclosed, leaving it to the option of those who are desirous of becoming members to choose the class

to which he or she would wish to belong, and the names and places of residence to be taken down accordingly, under the classes which are respectively chosen.

Second general Meetings to choose a Committee of Managers.

4. The society thus formed (with such others as may associate within a given number of days, during which the books will remain open) shall hold a general meeting in the church, for the purpose of choosing not less than five nor more than nine of their number, being reputable persons acquainted with accounts, to whom will be committed the sole and exclusive management of the local economy of the society, with power to appoint a fit and able person as a secretary or clerk, for whom the committee of managers shall be responsible, with power also to appoint two or more discreet persons as inspectors of sick members, according to the extent of the parish and the number of members composing the society.

Functions of the parochial Managers.

5. It will be the duty of the committee of managers to keep, or cause to be kept, an accurate register of the members comprising each class, specifying their *names, ages, state of health, place of birth,*

place of residence, occupation, whether single or married; the number of children and their ages, and the specific beneficial contingencies which are meant to be ensured to each. They must examine each member separately, so as to ascertain the state of health—the age to be ascertained either by a certificate of birth or by oath before a magistrate, before they can be finally admitted as members. And a copy of this register, with all additions which shall be made from time to time, shall be attested by at least five of the committee of managers, and then deposited in the national Deposit Bank, or such branch thereof as may be nearest the parish.

The committee of managers shall also receive and cause to be registered, according to a form of book-keeping which will be prescribed, all monthly payments which shall be made by the members, for which purpose an office shall be opened in a central situation in each parish, where attendance will be given from the 1st to the 5th day of every month, for the purpose of receiving the deposits of each member, after which the books shall be shut, and the money so collected shall forthwith be paid into the national or provincial bank, as the case may be, with the names of the persons paying the same, and the sums paid by each, for which a receipt will be granted free of stamp-duty, on a duplicate list, to be previously prepared.

The committee of managers shall, after the first

year, keep their office constantly open, from nine in the morning until six in the evening, for the purpose of receiving and registering the claims of members who are afflicted with sickness, or who may conceive themselves entitled, under any of the contingencies secured to them, to receive money. But before a sick member can be placed upon the register, the inspector of sick must attend the claimant, and report upon the case (being previously sworn in every case to give a true report); and the committee, or three of their number, being satisfied of his inability to labour, such member shall be furnished with a sick ticket, entitling him or her to receive the contingent relief for one week, payable on a day to be specified; and such tickets shall be renewed weekly, upon a specific report of one of the inspectors of sick, that such member continues to be unable to labour. All which cases shall be registered, explaining the nature of the disease, infirmity, or accident, in a book to be denominated *The Sick or Infirm Register.*

In order to detect frauds, or on suspicion of fraud or collusion, it will be the duty of one of the members of the committee of managers, in rotation, to visit the sick and infirm members occasionally, and to report in writing the situation of each member so visited, in a book, to be denominated the *General Register of Reports*, and the

name of the reporter shall on all such occasions be signed thereto.

It will be the peculiar province of the committee of managers in each parish to protect the funds of the Deposit Bank against frauds of every kind; while the utmost justice shall be done to all who have proper claims, and the most prompt attention paid to the same, so that the claimants may not on any occasion be detained, or suffered to lose their time in pursuit of their just rights.

The committee of managers shall meet on a day to be fixed in every week, for the purpose of admitting new members to be examined, registered, and returned to the bank directors, according to the rules hereinbefore mentioned, or such other regulations as it may be thought fit to adopt.

The committee shall also meet on a separate day, to be fixed, in every week for the express purpose of receiving the claims of members declaring upon the funds, and of examining minutely into their respective cases, and giving such directions thereupon as may be deemed expedient, with respect to their relief.

The committee of managers shall, on all occasions, act under the control and instructions of the directors of the national Deposit Bank, and shall execute and follow all rules and orders respecting the general management of the trust reposed in them, as they shall from time prescribe.

Functions of the Directors of the national Deposit Bank.

6. It will be the duty of the directors (who shall be appointed by His Majesty, as the father of his people) to systematize the design of this national institution in such a manner as to produce the greatest possible benefit to the parochial societies, at the least possible expense. They shall have authority to receive donations from opulent and humane individuals, with a view, after a certain period, to increase the relief to be granted under certain contingencies. They shall form plans of book-keeping for all the parochial committees, and require monthly, or quarterly, reports (according to a mode to be prescribed) of all their proceedings. They shall fix the salaries of the clerks and inspectors of the sick, in each parish, upon a scale corresponding with the number of members returned, and make such moderate allowance to the committee of managers as shall be thought reasonable, after a judgment can be formed of the nature and extent of the trouble. They shall appoint one or more able actuaries, to calculate the different contingencies, and the increase of benefits which may be made from time to time, in consequence of an accumulation of funds. They shall establish a *receipt office*, with able clerks to conduct it; in like manner a *pay office*, so arranged as to prevent delay to the claimants in receiving their money. They shall

see that the same accurate system is established in all the branches, in the districts to be fixed in the country, and that the directors proceed in all respects upon the same plan. These sub-directors to be appointed by the chief directors in the metropolis; but such sub-directors shall have the nomination of all their subordinate officers; but all shall be subordinate to the head establishment in the metropolis.

They shall regularly correspond with the directors of the branch banks, and receive from them, during the first year, all monies which may be placed in their hands by the parish committees, save and except what may be necessary for current expenses; and afterwards the sub-directors shall retain only a sufficient sum to pay the claimants on contingencies.

The directors shall invest all funds in national securities, and re-invest the dividends or produce thereof, which may not be called for, and shall in general adopt such measures as may tend to increase and multiply the funds upon a secure and economical principle.

The directors shall annually present to His Majesty in council a detailed report of the state of the institution; the number of societies and of the contributors to the fund in every parish in the kingdom; the total deposits made during the preceding year; the amount of the sums paid on each respective contingency during the same year; *the*

charges, salaries, and expenses of the establishments, and the balance of money in hand at the end of each year, distinguishing the amount arising from donations and deposits from what has been gained by accumulation.

General Regulations.

7. The funds placed in the hands of the directors of the *Deposit Bank of parochial societies* shall be guaranteed by Government, that the parties interested may thereby feel that they have a stake in the country, and that a perfect confidence may be established with respect to the ultimate security, and the justice and punctuality which will be manifested on all occasions, in respect to the payment of all monies due on the various contingencies which may be insured.

8. The whole profits on the floating capital, deducting only the salaries and expenses, shall belong exclusively to the societies, and shall be divided *pari passu* at such times as the directors, with the advice and consent of His Majesty in council, shall think fit, selecting years of dearth and scarcity as the fit periods for making such division.

9. The court of directors of the central bank shall fill up all vacancies in the parish committees within the district of the metropolis; and in all the other districts such vacancies shall be filled up by the provincial directors of the branch banks, the persons chosen being always resident in the parish and members of the societies.

10. There shall be only one committee managing the affairs of one society in each parish; and when the population does not exceed 2000 inhabitants, or a less number, two or more parishes may be joined together, under the management of the same committee.

11. Every person, male and female, from the age of twenty to sixty shall be eligible as members, in which shall be included inferior tradesmen, handicrafts, mechanics, labourers, and menial and other servants, who, on quitting one parish, on a proper application, may have their names transferred to the parish or place to which they may find it convenient to remove.

12. Persons failing to lodge their monthly payments at the office opened in each parish or place for that purpose, shall forfeit all preceding payments, and be excluded, unless restored on a petition presented to the court of directors, in the central or provincial districts, on the payment of all arrears and a satisfactory assurance of punctuality in future.

13. Soldiers and sailors in His Majesty's service, and seamen in the merchant service, will be eligible as members of the societies, and shall be considered as belonging to the parishes where their families or friends reside, and where their names are first entered, provided those who represent them shall undertake to be punctual in the payment of the monthly deposits: but the sums of

money to be paid will be in proportion to the additional risk arising from the contingency of death, wounds, or other casualties.

14. Every member, on making his or her first payment, shall receive a certificate of membership, according to a form to be prescribed, in which shall be described the age, height, visage, eyes, &c. of the person, and the parish and class to which he or she belongs: which certificate, signed at least by three members of the parochial committee, shall be presented by every member (or some known person, in case of death, sickness, or absence) claiming any allowance on a sick ticket, or in consequence of death, or any other contingency upon which a certified claim may be founded; and where the application is not made by the individual member, the certificate of the parochial committee shall describe the person who applies, and that he or she is entitled to receive the money.

15. All frauds or impositions on the parochial committees, or the directors of the Deposit Banks, shall be deemed a misdemeanor; and on conviction of the offenders, they shall be subject to the pains and penalties contained in the act of the 30 Geo. II. cap. 24, for obtaining, or attempting to obtain money by false pretences, and punished by imprisonment, whipping, the pillory, or transportation, according to the sentence of the court.

Concluding Observations.

These outlines will probably be sufficient to ground an opinion of the advantages and the practicability of the system proposed. There can be no doubt of its making a strong impression on the minds of those useful classes of the community, for whose benefit it is intended. The funds will not only be placed on the most secure footing, but, by forming a great aggregate, they will be rendered extremely productive, by means of monthly investments, and quarterly reinvestments of what they produce. If the scheme, when fully digested, shall be previously explained in the proposed Police Gazette, or in a short address, transmitted to every public house and generally disseminated in all the parishes in England and Wales, there can scarcely be any doubt of at least 2,000,000 of individuals becoming members in the course of the first year, and when once commenced it must go on and increase. All the benefits which attach to friendly societies are applicable to this system, in a much greater degree. The valuable time lost in cabals and meetings, the numerous fines incurred, and the sums expended in alehouses, do not attach to this plan. The members have no trouble, no quarrels or disputes, while their affairs are managed and their little property protected and rendered secure, with many

additional advantages, at an expense perhaps not exceeding one fifth part of the per centage which unavoidably attaches to the existing system of friendly societies. A confidence is likewise established, which must set all fear and jealousy at rest. They will be convinced that equal justice will be done to all, and that the box can never be shut up, as frequently happens at present in consequence of a failure in the funds.

It will also excite provident habits among the inferior orders of society. It will shew them that a certain benefit is accessible to them, upon a sure foundation, if they will be only frugal and saving. In this view it will pomote greater habits of industry; the poor man will thus have his bank as well as the rich, and it may possibly become a reproach and a degradation in the walks of vulgar life not to belong to it. It will convince (when properly understood) the mass of the people that the government of the country, and the higher orders of society, are anxious for their welfare, since they have thus devised the means of protecting their little savings, and have afforded all the necessary facilities of superior skill and knowledge to render them secure and profitable.

It is in the nature of mankind in general to be careless and improvident while there is no prospect before them of bettering their condition; but on the other hand, where such prospects open, a new cha-

racter is assumed. The careless and the thoughtless often become saving, frugal, and industrious, when a certain or probable reward for the exercise of these virtues is placed within their view, so as to convince the mind that it is attainable. The present plan holds out these rewards, with this great advantage, that there can be no disappointment with respect to the benefits which are promised. It embraces all ages and all conditions among the labouring classes. The poorest among them are not excluded, since the deposits or premiums are adapted to the circumstances of every one who can afford to pay one shilling a month, while superior benefits attach to those who are in a situation to enter upon higher classes. The sanction and patronage of Government will have a wonderful effect; and upon the whole, the scheme is likely not only to be popular, but even to excite gratitude in the minds of the great body of the people: it is at the same time perfectly voluntary; no direct or indirect coercion being proposed. It is even no part of the system to disturb the existing friendly societies; although it is confidently expected that most of the members will prefer the national institution as a matter of interest and choice, and place their funds in that most beneficial repository.

In proportion as the scheme succeeds will the phalanx of indigent members of the body politic

be diminished, and the parochial burdens of course be reduced.

The object to be attained is of great and incalculable importance. While its tendency will give a new and favourable turn to the manners of the labouring people, it will greatly improve their condition. It will elevate them in their own estimation above that abject meanness which exhibits only to their view the dreary prospect of closing their eyes in a workhouse, which can only be considered as few a degrees removed from a prison. It will promote virtue, morality, and industry, by holding out the gratifying prospect of something certain which will afford a solace to old age. It will also excite a disposition to loyalty and subordination, by an interest, a stake in preserving, maintaining, and defending the laws and constitution of the country. It is perhaps one of the surest props that can be devised for the support of legal authority, while it breathes only humanity and philanthropy to that most valuable class of men, for whose benefit the scheme is proposed. Here the poor man will look to his bank with the pleasing satisfaction that he possesses a little in reserve, *well secured*, for *himself*, *his wife*, and *his children*. He will strive in the course of his industry to make that little more. His children, when they begin to earn money, will follow his good example, by becoming members as soon as they can be admitted. The whole of those who have entitled themselves to these benefits will

look up to Government and the bank as guardian angels, by whose wise regulations, and regard to their welfare, they are shielded from the dread of misery and want under the calamity of sickness, bodily infirmity, and old age.

CHAPTER V.

A System of Education for the Children of the labouring People proposed.—Every Thing that can be devised to ameliorate the Condition of the Poor will be ineffectual, unless the Design shall comprise the rising Generation.—A national Education recommended.—The Utility and Advantages of such a System.—All partial Attempts have failed in attaining the Object in View.—The Pauper Establishments ill-conducted, compassing only a very inconsiderable Proportion of the Children of the Indigent.—Charity Schools in the Metropolis extremely limited in Proportion to the Number of poor Children requiring Education.—Too gigantic for the Effects of private Benevolence.—The Object, however, practicable at a very moderate Expense, by adopting the new System of Education.—The moderate Expense renders it generally within the Power of the Parish to defray.—Indigence produced by deficient Instruction.—If Measures are not adopted to attain this Object, parochial Rates must advance still higher.—The Injuries arising from a deficient Education, in narrowing the Resources for Subsistence.—These Resources ample to the virtuous Labourer, though shut against the vicious and dissolute.—The Power and Greatness of the

Country depend on a jealous Attention to the Education of the Children of the Poor.—The Subject illustrated.—A limited Education, suitable to the Condition of the Poor, all that is necessary.--Every Thing beyond a mere Channel for conveying religious and moral Principles would be mischievous and utopian.—The Advantages of a national Education for the Poor explained.—A central Board of Education for the Children of the Poor proposed.—Schools to be established in every Parish and District of England and Wales.—The Children to be educated upon the new and economical Plan first suggested by Dr. Bell.—The Functions of the Board of Education explained.—The Functions of the local Managers.—The System with respect to the Teachers.—School Wages.—Rules applicable to the general Economy of the Seminaries.—Concluding Observations.

In contemplating systems for the improvement of the condition of the labouring people, every thing that could be devised or carried into execution would ultimately be found, in a certain degree, nugatory and ineffectual, unless the general design shall comprehend the *rising generation*; since most of the evils which have been disclosed in this work, are chiefly to be attributed to the general neglect which has prevailed in giving to the children of the poor that limited portion of education which is indispen-

sably necessary to fortify their minds by religious and moral instruction, against those evil examples which surround them, and those temptations to vice and idleness, by which they are generally assailed in their progress to an adult state.

It is in vain to hope that any legislative regulations can control or bring into order and regularity the tumultuous passions producing idleness and dissolute habits in vulgar life, if a foundation is not laid by that species of instruction, in infancy, which shall strongly impress the mind with a just sense of religion and moral virtue; and it is equally vain to expect that this important desideratum can ever be attained through any other medium than that of a *national education* for the children of the poor, conducted upon one regular system, and pervading every parish in the kingdom.

The practicability of such a system does not rest upon theoretical speculation. The statute books show that it has long been carried into effect in a part of the United Kingdom, where its utility has been strongly manifested by the improved morals of the people. The strength and resources of a state can only be estimated by the quantum of moral virtue which prevails, since its offspring is sobriety and industry, producing, with an increase of wealth, an augmentation of comfort and happiness.

These advantages are only to be attained by an attention to the education of the poor; not that

species of instruction which is to elevate them above the rank they are destined to hold in society, but merely a sufficient portion to give their minds a right bias; a strong sense of religion and moral honesty; a horror of vice, and a love of virtue, sobriety, and industry; a disposition to be satisfied with their lot; and a proper sense of loyalty and subordination, as the strongest barrier that can be raised against vice and idleness, the never-failing precursors of indigence and criminal offences—a barrier which cannot be too jealously guarded, since it is the state in society which not only increases the parochial rates; but also reduces the mass of productive labour, upon which the strength and resources of the country depend.

The efforts of benevolent individuals have been employed for more than a century in attempts to promote this most desirable object, while the legislature, through the medium of the laws for the management of paupers, has also established regulations applicable to the education of the children of those who have required parochial relief; but nothing has resulted from these measures calculated to compass the object in view. Although there were 194,914 children from five to fourteen years of age, permanently relieved, in England and Wales, from the parochial rates in 1803; yet of this number only 21,600 were in schools of industry, receiving a very imperfect education.

In the metropolis, from the year 1697 to the

present period, seventy-nine schools have been established by charitable and benevolent individuals, in the different parishes, where 4180 boys, and 2928 girls, are educated and clothed, and a certain proportion maintained; but when the whole of the children of the poor, requiring religious and moral instruction, are taken into the account, amounting at all times to about *two millions*, in England and Wales, besides above 50,000 in the metropolis, arrived at an age to receive instruction, it must be evident that the efforts hitherto manifested (however meritorious they unquestionably are) have done little towards the great design of a national education. The truth is, that the object is too gigantic for the efforts of private benevolence; and yet, in consequence of the recent improvements in the mode of instructing children for the common occupations of life, it is, happily for the nation, rendered practicable, by proper arrangements, to establish a general system of education, suited to the condition of the children of labourers and servants, which shall compass every thing that is required, at an expense so inoderate, as in many instances to be within the ability of the parents and relations to defray.

It is, therefore, of the most incalculable importance to adopt every measure within the scope of legislative regulation, that shall hold out a rational prospect of attaining this object, which can only be accomplished by public institutions,

calculated to give a right bias to the minds of the children of the poor.

It will be seen, by a reference to a new system of education, which has been recently disclosed to the public *, that this important object is to be attained at about one tenth part of the expense usually incurred:—that one master or mistress, properly qualified, are *each* capable of giving all the education which is necessary to from 300 to 500 children, assembled in seminaries applicable to each sex—at an expense which cannot exceed 10*s.* a head yearly, while it may be possible to accomplish the object even for less money.

It will be seen also from the same publication, that, after making very large allowances, in Great Britain and Ireland, at least 1,750,000 of the population of the country at an age to be instructed, grow up to an adult state without any instruction at all, in the grossest ignorance, and without any useful impression of religion or morality; and if no measures shall be adopted to improve this important branch of political economy, it is but too evident, that every thirty-three years (the period assigned for a new generation) seven millions of adults must mingle with the general population of the country without any fixed principles of rectitude, and with very little knowledge

* See a pamphlet, intitled, A new and appropriate System of Education for the labouring People, published by Hatchard, Piccadilly, anno 1806.

either of religion or morality. Contemplating such a state of things, can it be a matter of wonder that millions, destitute of instruction, and left to the operation of the grossest ignorance, operating on ill-regulated passions, should descend into indigence, and become burdens on the innocent and industrious part of the community, either in the character of paupers or criminal offenders? While no adequate provision is made for the education of the children of the poor;—while nothing is done to counteract the evil examples which surround them, and to lead them gradually into the paths of useful industry, by institutions which shall prove effectual in attaining this object, it is in vain to hope for any material reduction of the parochial rates. On the contrary, they must multiply with the augmentation of the opulence and the increase of the population of the country, since these two circumstances cannot fail (unless remedies are applied) to augment the culpable indigence, which has made such rapid strides within the last fourteen years in every district of the country, particularly in the large towns. It is not a deficiency of resource for the disposal of labour, which produces such a state of things, but *a want of confidence*, which narrows this resource to all who from immoral habits and profligacy of character have ceased to deserve it. To the virtuous and industrious labourer many channels of employment are open, while to the vicious and dissolute those only are

accessible where no injury is to be apprehended, and these are at all times very few in number. Hence it is that so many male and female adults in the prime of life (particularly in large towns) descend into indigence, and become *paupers*, calling for the labour of the virtuous part of the community to support them.

In a country where almost every year adds one or more millions to the value of manufactures exported to foreign countries, and where the increase of the sale of labour abroad has more than kept pace with the increase of the population;—where new manufactures are yearly springing up, adding to the existing resources for the employment of the poor; and where the incalculable advantages these nations enjoy over every other, arising from their insular situation, and the skill and capital every where diffused, must ensure the decided preference they have obtained over every country in Europe, there can be little danger of full employment, even to an extended population, reared up in habits of virtue and industry.

It is therefore plain to demonstration, that the permanent power and greatness of the country can be rendered secure in no other manner, than by a jealous attention to the education of the youth of both sexes. It has been already shewn that every thing the nation possesses—the means of existence and all the comforts and luxuries of life, are solely and exclusively derived from five sources

of labour, namely, *agriculture*, *mines*, *manufactures*, *fisheries*, and *commerce*; and that the property annually created arises from labour *alone*, invigorated by skill and capital. How important therefore is it, that in rearing these labourers the utmost attention should be bestowed, in not only promoting their own happiness and comfort, but also the interest and security of the state, since they are indispensably necessary as well for its support as for its defence.

The care and anxiety of the husbandman in rendering the soil productive to the utmost extent, with regard to the animal and vegetable creation, is every where obvious. The attention of the manufacturer is equally conspicuous, in giving the highest finish to all fabrics which pass through his hands. But man, upon whose education in early life every thing depends, since his labour gives life and motion to every branch of industry, has not experienced an attention in any degree equal to the importance of the object.

This importance can never be discovered by a partial view of the state of society. In order to form an accurate conception of its utility, it must be contemplated not only in the gross but in all its component parts. It is, therefore, through the medium of the Preliminary Elucidations, offered to the consideration of the reader in this work, and particularly the *chart of society*, shewing the various subdivisions of industry, that a

competent idea can be formed of the incalculable difference to a state, between a *virtuous* and *vicious* labouring people.

Let it not be conceived for a moment, that it is the object of the author to recommend a system of education for the poor that shall pass the bounds of their condition in society. Nothing is aimed at beyond what is necessary to constitute a channel to *religious* and *moral instruction*. To exceed that point would be utopian, impolitic, and dangerous, since it would confound the ranks of society, upon which the general happiness of the lower orders, no less than that of those in more elevated stations, depends.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that a line should be drawn, and hence the advantages of a national education over systems not thus controlled; since by indiscriminate instruction, or by a larger portion than is merely necessary to give a right bias to the mind, those destined for laborious occupations would become discontented and unhappy in the inferior situations of life, generating insubordination and disloyalty. In this view, national institutions are to be preferred to private seminaries. The former admit of a limit which, when duly weighed, is of the greatest importance, while the latter may be extended beyond that point which is consistent with national policy, or individual happiness. It is the interest of every nation that the people should be virtuous and well

disposed; but science and learning, if universally diffused, would speedily overturn the best-constituted government on earth.

In educating, therefore, the inferior classes of society, it becomes a momentous desideratum that a national system should be established; and he who considers the subject with attention, and with an immediate view to the best interests of his country, will be convinced that there is no branch of political economy which merits in a greater degree the attention of the statesman and the politician. It is one of those regulations of internal police, which, in the present state of society, can never be safely left to the operation of accident, since there is almost as much danger in doing *too much* as *too little*.

The limited views which mankind in general are prone to take of the nature of governments, and the disposition which too frequently prevails, especially among the young and the inexperienced, of presuming the possibility of perfection in human institutions (without reflecting that the nature and constitution of the human frame and faculties are constantly opposed to such visionary expectations), have produced much unhappiness, and many convulsions in the body politic. The greatest schemes that ever were devised for the general benefit of society, can only compass a part; and those are the wisest, and the best calculated to promote the general security, which contain in their structure an antidote to the evils which are generated by an

over-heated zeal, not tempered by discretion nor regulated by a mature knowledge of human life.

It has been already shewn, that education to a certain extent is indispensably necessary to lead the human mind towards useful pursuits. It is equally obvious, that this desideratum, the most important of all others to a government, can never be attained without *system* and without superintendence, as far as it attaches to vulgar life.

It is therefore suggested, that this great branch of political economy should be placed under the guidance of a *central board*, to be established in the metropolis, that the progress of mental improvement among the labouring people may be as much an object of general attention and care, as the vegetable creation under the eye of the husbandman and agriculturist.

With this View, the following Measures are proposed.

I.

That a board of education be established in the metropolis, to be composed of the right reverend the bishops and a certain number of laymen, holding considerable rank in the state, to be assisted by a secretary and a competent number of clerks and other officers.

II.

That schools shall be established, under the authority of the legislature, in every parish or

district of England and Wales, having regard to the population, so that the schools shall be so distributed as to afford accommodation at least to 400 male and 400 female children, residing within a moderate distance of the place where they shall be situated. That the education of the youth, of both sexes, shall be conducted upon the new plan, first discovered and carried into effect at Madrass, by the Rev. Dr. Bell, now rector of Swanage, in Dorsetshire, where the practicability of instructing from 400 to 500 pupils, by *one master*, or *mistress*, has been incontestably proved, by experiments made in this metropolis.

III.

That the functions of the proposed board of education for the children of the labouring poor, shall be chiefly confined to that species of general superintendence which shall embrace the whole of the great features of the system. They should be authorized by Parliament to fix the site of each seminary for male and female children, and to nominate and appoint the local managers, to consist of the *justices of the division*, and the *officiating ministers* and *churchwardens* of the parishes or places where each of the two schools for male and female children are established, *with such other persons, male and female, as they may think proper* —to fix the salaries and emoluments of the masters and mistresses—to systematize the design, applicable to local circumstances—to receive quar-

terly reports from the local managers, specifying in tables, and by remarks and observations, according to a general form to be prescribed, the number of pupils and their progress; the conduct, fitness, and assiduity of the teachers; and to give such instructions and advice, from time to time, as shall tend to preserve energy, and to produce those national advantages which ought to be the result of a superintendence so dignified and enlightened; and finally, to report to Parliament, once in every session, the existing state of the respective schools in each county.

The functions of the local managers will be more extensive. It will be their province, under the direction of the central board, to hire or erect separate commodious school-rooms, for the male and female children—to appoint fit masters and mistresses, to superintend the general economy of the different seminaries, and to examine the schools, once in every quarter, previous to the report being transmitted to the central board—to dismiss such teachers as are found incapable, and generally, to do and perform all matters and things relative to the finances of the seminaries, and such other duties as are generally executed by the managers of similar institutions. All persons employed in educating youth at the commencement of these institutions (being members of the established church) to be eligible as candidates, and to have a preference to others, provided they agree to teach

according to the new system, and to conform in all respects to the rules established by the board and the local managers; but no person to be appointed who shall not have been previously examined by the officiating minister and a competent number of his coadjutors, or whose moral character is reproachable. The local managers shall appoint a treasurer, who shall receive and disburse all monies, and whose accounts shall be audited quarterly by the managers.

IV.

The following rules, subject to such amendments and improvements as may be suggested by the board, are offered, with a view more fully to elucidate the design.

1. That each teacher shall have the benefit of a house, or residence (if possible, attached to the school-house), *rent free*, with a salary of £30 a year, to advance 5*s*. a head on each pupil above two hundred; making 100 guineas a year for 500 scholars.

2. That all persons (not receiving parish relief) who shall send their children to any national school shall pay in advance one shilling every calendar month, if only one child.

If two children, 1*s*. 10*d*. a month.

If three children, 2*s*. 6*d*. a month.

If four children, 3*s*. a month.

And the like rates shall be paid by the overseers of

the parish, for the children of parents who are in the actual receipt of parochial relief for the time being.

And it shall be competent for the justices of the division, if they shall see fit, to authorize and require the overseers of any parish, within their limits, to pay either a part or the whole of the school wages for the child or children of any other poor person (although not paupers), who may appear to them to be unable to spare from their earning a sufficient sum to educate their children.

3. Persons neglecting or refusing to send their children to any national school, and permitting them to be reared up without religious and moral instruction in any other seminary, to be deprived of their legal claim to parochial relief, and to be considered as strangers, entitled only to casual relief, until they comply.

4. The officiating minister (for the time being) of the parish where each school is situated, shall be the treasurer of the funds of the institution.

5. The master or mistress of each school, as the case may be, shall receive the school wages every month in advance, and shall pay over the same to the treasurer.

6. The expense of erecting each school-house, and all other expenses, shall be defrayed, in the first instance, from the assessmants for the poor made in each parish; and where there are more than one parish, the quota of expense to be regulated according to the population returns; and this

expense, as well as the charge incurred in educating paupers, to be refunded gradually out of any surplus monies which may remain in the hands of the treasurers of the respective schools, and which may not be required for the purposes of education: —and if at any time, when the accounts are made up at the end of the year, there should appear to be a deficiency of the funds of the schools, the same shall be made up by the parish or parishes, according to the rule above specified, or according to the amount of the general assessment in each parish.

These outlines will shew, that the proposed system of education is not likely (if conducted upon the frugal and practicable plan which is fully explained in the tract already referred to) to add to the burdens of any of the parishes. On the contrary, there is every reason to expect that the effect of the general design will be a gradual reduction of the parochial rates, to be followed, after a period of years, by a very rapid diminution, in consequence of the improved morals of the people, and still more by the collateral aids which will arise from the adoption of the proposed system with respect to friendly societies, since the youth of both sexes will be induced, both from precept and example, to become members in early life, and to look to this resource rather than to parish relief (reducing them to the degraded state of

paupers) for subsistence, in the event of sickness or any other casualty.

It may also with justice be remarked, that as every year will usher into society a proportion of these children, in an adult state, they will more effectually assist the country, by increasing the stock of industry, in consequence of improved morals, as more orderly servants, and better labourers, mechanics, and handicrafts. Their minds will be stored with sentiments and ideas calculated to convince them of the value of a good character for honesty and industry—a horror of vice—a love of virtue, and a detestation of that degraded state which may place them in a situation to require parochial relief. In the progress of their education, such sentiments will be carefully inculcated, as cannot fail to have a powerful effect upon their minds, while it operates favourably, by preserving the labouring people in an independent state of poverty, and by strengthening the barriers against the calamity of indigence.

CHAPTER VI.

Apprenticing the Children of the Poor.—The Laws relative to them extremely numerous, requiring much Revision.—The great Importance of attending to this Branch of political Economy as it regards the Interest of the State.—The Poor are unable to place out their Children advantageously.—Numbers therefore arrive at an adult State reared up in Vice and Idleness.—The great Importance of instructing the Children of the Poor in useful Occupations considered in a political Point of View.—The Necessity of a more correct System.—The Imperfection of the Laws relative to Apprentices explained.—Improvements suggested.—A superintending Authority recommended.—The Resources of the Country for the Employment of the Children of the Poor greater than at any former Period.—A properly organized System of Superintendence indispensably necessary to enable the Nation to avail itself of the Resources it actually possesses for the full and useful Employment of the Youth of both Sexes.—Much Aid may be afforded by indirect legislative Regulations, under the Guidance of an able Statesman, in producing a greater Share of productive Labour, as well as individual Happiness and na-

tional Prosperity.—A general View of the Resources which the Nation possesses in various Branches of Industry, for the useful Employment of the Children of the Poor.—Reflections on this summary View of the national Resources for productive Labour.—The national Advantages derived from a virtuous Education, opposed to idle and vicious Habits.—The Importance of attending to this Object, in a political Point of View.—Regulations proposed, with a View to embrace the Children of the Poor in every Parish in the Kingdom, and to ensure an accurate and permanent Execution of the Design.—Concluding Observations.

THE system of education proposed for the children of the labouring people would be of little avail, unless effectual measures were adopted for placing them out as apprentices and servants, after they arrive at an age to be instructed in useful occupations.

The laws relative to apprentices are extremely numerous, and contain many excellent regulations: but like the statutes applicable to the economy of the pauper system, they require much revision, and a general consolidation, in order to render their operation useful and effectual, in compassing the object of ushering into society the youth of both sexes, with advantage to themselves and utility to the state. It must ever be kept in view

that the poor are generally destitute of those resources which are necessary to procure for their children the means of obtaining a knowledge of useful trades, as handicrafts, mechanics, agriculturists, &c.; and, if left without assistance in this respect, the nation sustains an incalculable loss in the deficient productive labour, resulting from the youth of both sexes being reared up in idleness and vice, instead of useful industry, in the various occupations in which they might be advantageously employed. That vast numbers are so reared at present without any control or instruction, through the medium of apprenticeships, is a melancholy truth, which will be admitted by all who have contemplated the state of society among the poor in large and populous cities, and particularly in the metropolis, where multitudes arrive at an adult state, often stunted in their growth by being half fed in their progress from infancy, and without the knowledge of any branch of industry, by which they can earn a livelihood; while the males, from their diminished size *, are frequently not even fit for the army or navy. So much depends on the corporal powers and skill of the labouring people, that it is of no less importance that they should be well fed

* The author was forcibly struck with a circumstance, which occurred about eleven years ago, in executing his public duty, as a deputy lieutenant in an eastern division of the metropolis, where, out of nearly 1000 persons ballotted for the militia, who were brought before him, about 25 in 30, upon an average, were found to be under size.

than carefully instructed in their progress to manhood: and, considering the pressures of parents, in the lower ranks of life, who have large families, it becomes necessary, and indeed politically wise, as it regards the interest of the state, that they should be eased of the burden as early as their children can be placed in a situation to help themselves. Public money applied in this way cannot be considered in the same light as that which is expended for the maintenance of paupers. In the latter case it becomes a twofold loss to the community, since it is not only unproductive, but the labour of those upon whom it is bestowed is equally so to the state; while in the former it may be considered as *a double gain*, inasmuch as it not only creates a new resource of labour, but that species of productive industry which arises from the knowledge of an useful employment. The strength and riches of a state can never be realized by the number of its people, unless by judicious regulations of political economy they are rendered efficient and useful to the greatest possible extent. Those who are destined for laborious occupations should be ushered into life under circumstances calculated to render them useful subjects, and above all, with ability, from sufficient food, previous instruction, and habits of industry, to produce *extra labour*, which is the only source of riches—and ought to be the ordinary state of man.

The nation is a large family: it requires much productive labour to support it, and, in these days,

also a large portion of physical strength for its defence. These objects are only to be attained by an *industrious, virtuous, and well-instructed people in the laborious occupations of life*. In the superior and middle stations in society, the task of educating an offspring and placing them usefully in the world may safely be consigned to parents and guardians; but the poor have no efficient parent or guardian but the legislature. They may have the will, but they have not the ability to rear up their children so as to produce those advantages which the interest and the support of the state requires. It may also be observed, that it is the nation at large which reaps the benefit. It is plain, therefore, to demonstration, that there can be no branch of political economy more important, or one which requires a more watchful and systematic attention, than that which relates to the proper introduction of the children of the poor into channels of useful industry. It is too great a stake to be left to the operation of chance, or the feeble agency of a statutary system, in many instances rendered obsolete, and without proper springs to put it in motion; since the guardians appointed by the legislature have not a sufficient impulse, and the changes which have taken place in the state of society have rendered the provisions of many existing acts little more than a dead letter *.

* By the 5 Eliz. householders using half a plough of land in tillage might require any person to become their apprentice

In this situation, particularly in towns (which comprises one third of the whole population), the

in husbandry, or in any art or mystery; and if he refused (being under twenty-one years), a justice, if he thought fit, might commit him to ward (prison) until he be contented to be bound. The scarcity of labourers in husbandry seems to have given rise to this severe regulation. It was then difficult to procure apprentices, now it is equally difficult to find masters. By the act of the 43 Elizabeth, cap. 2, the parish officers, with the consent of two justices, may bind any children to apprenticeships whose parents they shall judge not able to maintain them; males (by 18 Geo. 3, cap. 47) until twenty-one years, and females until twenty-one, or marriage. By the 8 and 9 Wm. and Mary, cap. 30, persons appointed by the parish officers to take apprentices, who shall refuse to do so, shall forfeit £10. By 3 Anne, cap. 6, masters or owners of ships, from thirty to fifty tons, shall be obliged to take one apprentice, and one more for the next fifty tons, and an additional apprentice for every hundred tons such ship shall exceed the burden of one hundred tons, or forfeit £10 for each apprentice, provided (by 4 Anne, cap. 19) such apprentice is not under thirteen years of age, and of fit strength for the service. There are no less than thirty-nine statutes made to amend, enlarge, and explain the original act of the 5th of Elizabeth, respecting apprentices, namely, one in the reign of Elizabeth; two in the reign of James I.; two in the reign of Charles II.; five in the reign of William III.; seven in the reign of Queen Anne; five in the reign of George II.; and seventeen in the reign of His present Majesty; all of them in force, and from which (having reference to the law upon those statutes, which has been settled at various periods by the decision of the supreme judges), a most useful system of legislation might be formed, by rescinding such clauses as have become obsolete, and by simplifying and adapting the whole to the present state of society, so as to ensure a correct and efficient execution,—which never can be expected in the present state of things.

children of the poor are in many instances left to themselves; no inquiry is made respecting them, unless they happen to become chargeable: the parents, knowing their inability to raise a sufficient sum for an apprentice fee, have no choice but to leave them to their own resources, after they are capable of some labour. Their first outset in life is probably as a pot-boy, or pot-girl, at an alehouse, or in some other situation, in stables and other nurseries for vice, where their morals become completely depraved. The boy generally becomes a vagabond, if he is not fortunately introduced into the army, while the girl has seldom any other alternative than to enter the walks of prostitution as a means of subsistence.

Under these circumstances, it must necessarily follow that multitudes of the youth of both sexes are rendered useless to themselves and the state.

Nothing is so much wanted as an appropriate modernized legislative system, applicable to apprentices and suited to the present state of society. The existing statutes (forty in number) are a mere patch-work, full of incongruities, a source of litigation, from their intricacy, constantly presenting difficulties in their execution, without any apparent corresponding benefit. A circle is described, full of curves and windings, where a straight line would effect the object. Coercion and jurisdiction are measured by the number of pounds, more or less, paid as an apprentice fee,

or the number of years bound. An indenture is vitiated, although perfectly correct in other respects, if the scissars are not applied in making a few curves in the upper part of the paper or parchment. The covenants are generally the same as existed two or three hundred years ago; and are not always suited to the present state of society. Neither the duties of masters or apprentices are defined so clearly as the public interest requires, while contingencies occur where the statutes have either made no provision whatsoever, or such as from their intricacy can rarely be enforced. But it will not be sufficient merely to consolidate and improve the various acts now in existence. The superintending authority of the proposed board of education might be extended with great advantage to this most important branch of police; and the funds already provided by the legislature for the introduction of the children of the poor into useful employments, might be rendered extremely productive to the nation, by placing them under the guidance of discreet and reputable persons, who will be responsible for their support and instruction; but to effect this object, these resources should be rendered more accessible and efficient. At no period in our history could a resource be found equal to what exists at present, for the employment of the children of the poor as apprentices. The great increase of property annually created from *agriculture, mines and minerals, manufactures, fisheries,* and *inland and foreign*

commerce, demonstrates the practicability of placing the youth of both sexes in situations to be useful to themselves and their country. A superintending agency, directed to this object, could not fail to be successful, under a properly organized system. It is not likely, in the present state of Europe, that there can ever be a superabundance of males, since the army and navy will probably require more than can be spared from the numerous branches of productive industry, which have been established, and which are progressively increasing, while indirect and salutary legislative regulations may be made, which would extend the resources for female employment, by rendering it the interest of individuals engaged in various branches of industry to prefer women in all occupations, where, from the nature of the labour to be performed, it could be executed with equal advantage by either sex.

It is the province of the legislature and the statesman to investigate with care and accuracy the resources which the nation possesses for productive labour, and the manner in which it should be arranged, so as to render it most beneficial to the individuals and the nation.

There is a mode of giving a right direction to the pursuits of a people, without partaking in the smallest degree of the nature of restraint or coercion, which, if attempted, would generally defeat the object. Salutary effects may often be produced from causes

in their nature so latent as not to be traced. Objects may be attained highly beneficial to a country, arising from the well-digested measures of an able and intelligent political economist, guiding the helm of state——measures that would not only augment the productive labour, upon which the strength and revenue of every nation depend; but which would also increase the stock of genuine and individual happiness. To effect this object, the statesman will ponder the chart of society, and will store his mind with that species of knowledge which shall guide it towards those objects immediately connected with the prosperity and comfort of all classes of the community, by encouragements on one hand and restraints on the other, both equally in the back ground: but which (working together) shall operate favourably to the national happiness.

To effect this object, however, a collected view of prominent and useful facts should ever be under his eye. Correct ideas, on any subject, can only arise out of an accurate knowledge of useful truths; and none are so important as those which convey to the mind a distinct and accurate knowledge of the way and manner in which the various classes composing the body politic are employed. Through this general medium legislators are taught to frame useful laws, and restrained by partial and less comprehensive views of the subject, from experiments, which may have an injurious tendency.

In considering how seven millions of the rising

population of the country, in the inferior stations, may be most advantageously introduced into the various occupations of life, it will not surely be considered inapplicable, to offer the following collected view of the resources which the nation possesses, for male and female industry, in different parts of the country.

Resources for the Employment of Males.

Agricultural Labour.
1. Labour in the fields.
2. Labour in the management of cattle, horses.
3. Sheepshearers.
4. Shepherds.
5. Ploughmen.
6. Plough boys.
7. Carters and waggoners.
8. Reapers of corn.
9. Mowers of grass and corn.

Labour in Mines and Minerals.
10. Coal miners.
11. Lead miners.
12. Tin miners.
13. Copper miners.
14. Iron miners.
15. Alum workers.
16. Salt workers.
17. Limestone and chalk quarriers.
18. Stone quarriers.
19. Slate quarriers.
20. Gravel raisers.

Resources of the Employment of Females.

Agricultural Labour.
1. Labour in the dairy department.
2. Labour in rearing pigs, poultry, &c.
3. Labour in harvest.
4. Hop picking, &c.
5. Weeding in gardens and fields.

Domestic Labour.
6. Menial servants.
7. Laundresses.
8. Manglers.
9. Clear starchers.

Labour in fabricating Apparel and Furniture.
10. Milliners.
11. Mantua makers.
12. Dress makers.
13. Slop makers.
14. Sempstresses.
15. Upholstery work.

Manufacturing Labour.
16. Thread lace workers.
17. Silk lace workers.
18. Embroiderers of silk, gauze, &c.
19. Tambourers of muslin, lawn, &c.

Resources for the Employment of Males.

Acting Labour in building and repairing Houses.

21. Brick makers.
22. Tile makers.
23. Masons.
24. Bricklayers.
25. House carpenters.
26. Sash makers.
27. Lath renders.
28. Plasterers.
29. Plumbers.
30. Painters.
31. Glaziers.
32. Slaters.
33. Tilers.
34. Thatchers.
35. House smiths.
36. Paper hangers.
37. Carvers and gilders.
38. Sculpturists.

Mechanical and Artisan Labour.

39. Chair and sofa makers.
40. Cabinet makers.
41. Joiners.
42. Musical instrument makers.
43. Looking glass makers.
44. Upholsterers.
45. Picture frame makers.

Manufacturing Labour of various Kinds.

46. Woollen manufacture, in all its branches.
47. Cotton manufacture, ditto.
48. Silk manufacture, ditto.
49. Linen manufacture, ditto.
50. Hemp manufacture, ditto.

Resources for the Employment of Females.

Manufacturing Labour—continued.

20. Embroiderers in gold and silver.
21. Fan trimmers.
22. Umbrella and parasol trimmers.
23. Glove stitchers.
24. Silk windsters.
25. Cotton windsters.
26. Woollen windsters.
27. Domestic spinsters.
28. Bleachers of linen and cotton.
29. Straw plat manufacturers.
30. Pencillers of printed stuffs.
31. Stocking knitters.
32. Shirt and twist button makers.
33. Pin makers, part of the division labour.
34. Feather dressers.
35. Pasteboard box makers.

Manufactures.

36. In various branches of the woollen manufacture. } Employing many children.
37. In various branches of the cotton ditto }
38. As riband weavers in the silk manufacture.
39. As spinners in the linen manufacture.
40. As spinners in the hemp manufacture.

Resources for the Employment of Males.

Manufacturing Labour of various Kinds--continued.

51. Hair cloth manufacture, ditto.
52. Stocking manufacture, ditto.
53. Hat manufacture, do.
Leather manufacture, viz.
54. Boot and shoe making.
55. Leather cap making.
56. Gloves.
57. Saddle making.
58. Bookbinding.
59. Military belts, pouches, &c.
60. Skins, furs, &c.
61. Paper manufacture, in all its branches.
62. Glass manufacture, do.
63. China, porcelain, and earthen-ware, ditto.
64. Workers in jewellery and precious stones.
65. Workers in gold and silver plate, lace, &c.
66. Watch and clock makers.
67. Workers in articles plated with silver.
68. Workers in copper, brass, pewter, tin, lead, iron, steel, and other metals, comprising every article of domestic use--cut-

Resources for the Employment of Females.

Manufactures--continued.

41. As stitchers and trimmers of hose, in the stocking manufacture.
42. As binders and liners of hats, in the hat manufacture.
43. As binders of shoes, caps, and other articles in the leather manufacture.
44. As pencillers and ornamenters of porcelain.
45. As stitchers of books and pamphlets.
46. Shop women, in the millinery, mercery, haberdashery, and other branches of inland trade.

There is scarcely a branch of manufacture, in some part of which women could not be rendered useful in assisting in the various subdivisions of labour. The resources in this respect might be rendered not only very extensive, but also very useful to the country, by means of appropriate regulations, founded on an accurate knowledge of facts, always accessible to the legislature and to the states-

Resources for the Employment of Males.

Manufacturing Labour of various Kinds—continued.

lery, muskets, arms, &c.

69. Founders of iron and other metals, & types.
70. Manufactures of gunpowder.
71. Manufactures of dyestuffs.
72. Manufactures of numerous articles from ivory, bone, horn, and various woods.
73. Manufactures of horse hair, hog's bristles, &c.
74. Manufactures of various articles used in medicine, and manufactures from chemical processes.
75. Manufactures of white lead and painter's colours.
76. Manufactures of vitriol, varnishes, glue, &c.
77. Printing of books, and p ting in general.
78. Manufacture of fans, feathers, &c.
79. Manufacture of perfumes and other articles.
80. Manufacture of wax, wafers, and ink.
81. Manufacture of malt.

man. And in the present state of society and manners, and under the peculiar circumstances of the country, it is not possible to conceive a species of knowledge more useful, or that which might be productive of more extensive benefit to the nation.

There is certainly no deficiency in the resources for the useful employment of even a more extensive population. It only requires that the industry of the country should be properly directed and accurately distributed.

Resources for the Employment of Males.

Manufacturing Labour of various Kinds—continued.

82. Manufacture of malt liquor of different kinds.
83. Manufacture of sweets.
84. Manufacture of vinegar.
85. Manufacture of spirits (distilleries).
86. Manufacture of tobacco.
87. Sugar refinery.
88. Manufacture of soap.
89. Manufacture of starch.
90. Manufacture of candles from wax and tallow.
91. Manufacture of salt.

Finishers of Manufactures, &c.

92. Dyers of woollens, silk, and other goods.
93. Calico printers.
94. Bleachers of linen and cotton.
95. Lawn and muslin dressers.
96. Stocking dressers.
97. Paper stainers.
98. Floor cloth stainers.
99. Hot-pressers.
100. Callenderers.
101. Packers of goods.

Mechanical Labour.

102. Engineers and engine makers.
103. Mill wrights.

Mechanical Labour.

104. Wheel wrights.
105. Turners.
106. Coopers.
107. Coach makers.
108. Carriage makers.

Trades requiring Labourers.

109. Tailors and habit makers.
110. Millers.
111. Bakers of bread and biscuit bakers.
112. Pastry cooks.
113. Butchers.
114. Poulterers.
115. Dealers in provisions, &c.
116. Seedsmen.
117. Nurserymen.
118. Gardeners.

Mechanical and nautical Labour.

119. Shipwrights and boat builders.
120. Mast and oar makers.
121. Block makers.
122. Rope makers.
123. Sail makers.
124. Riggers.
125. Labourers loading and discharging ships.
126. Mariners in foreign and coasting trade, and fisheries.

Army. Navy.

127. Seamen in the navy.
128. Soldiers in the army.

By thus placing upon record a summary view of the various resources for the employment of the rising population of the country (greater than exist in any other nation in the world), it should seem, that, under a well-arranged system, no individual, having labour to dispose of, with a good character, ought to experience any difficulty in finding a purchaser: and still more, that the youth of both sexes, aided by the superintending agency which has been suggested, could not fail to find masters and mistresses in the very numerous branches of industry, which are so widely diffused; when, by a properly digested plan, the whole of the children of the poor, fit to be bound out as apprentices, with their *age*, *height*, and *description*, shall be accurately registered, and brought under the consideration of the proposed board of education, with a view to this object.

It may frequently happen, that in that part of the country where there is the greatest demand for this species of labour, the population may afford the least supply, and *vice versa*. By thus establishing a centre point, applications would be made from all quarters, and little more would be necessary than to supply the demand from the parishes nearest, by conveying directions to the parish officers: and to proceed in this way until the distribution is completed. A voluntary master is always to be preferred, as it implies a mutual interest and secures a greater degree of attention; while

compulsion, on the part of any individual (such as the laws now in force require), to take one or more apprentices, whose services are useless and not required, being contrary to that reciprocity of interest, upon which all contracts are understood to be founded, it is not to be expected, that infants, so forced upon masters, can be either well fed, well clothed, or properly instructed in that knowledge which is afterwards to render them useful members of society; and hence it is that the object of rearing an useful class of labourers, mechanics, and artisans, so necessary in consituting the strength and riches of every country, is in a great measure defeated. Instead of becoming useful, multitudes descend into indigence from being neglected in early life, and the result is, that the calendars of delinquency are swelled with offenders, and the number of paupers are increased.

It is impossible to reflect upon a subject of this nature without being forcibly struck with its importance: whether we connect it with the defence of the country, or with the resources of the state, the policy of a watchful superintendence of this important branch of political economy is equally obvious.

The husbandman rears his crops with the utmost care, looking forward to a productive harvest, when they arrive at maturity, as his only stay and support: with this view he watches their progress with care and industry, he removes all

noxious weeds and other obstructions, which may produce blight or hazard a disappointment.

In rearing subjects to the state, this metaphor will not be found inapplicable. The expense in the first instance is very considerable, and the profit, or return, can only be expected when the human plant arrives at maturity. It may be productive, or it may be noxious and burdensome, according to the care and attention which is bestowed in rearing it. A country flourishes or decays in proportion to the quantum of virtue and industry, or vice and idleness, which exist in the body politic. And it is much to be feared, on a minute examination of the subject, it will be found that we are more indebted to the adventitious aids we have derived from the spring which has been given to industry by the spirit of enterprise, which has prevailed in all the ramifications of labour, than to any other cause: and it is but too evident, that if the progress had been less rapid, the mass of paupers, under the disadvantages attending their first entrance into society, would probably have been double their present number.

It is not to be expected that parish officers, annually elected, often unwilling labourers, and more frequently incapable, from deficient education and other causes, arising from the attention due to their own affairs, to execute duties now become so extensive and intricate, can of themselves compass all the objects which the vital interest of the state

requires, with respect to the proper introduction of the children of the poor into useful pursuits in life. They require therefore to be *supported, assisted, countenanced,* and *directed,* by men of more expanded minds, of greater influence, and possessing powers and resources equal to the importance of the object to be attained.

Without therefore proposing to disturb the present system, it is only here suggested:

1. That the laws relative to apprentices should be *revised, consolidated, simplified, and rendered applicable to the present state of society.*

2. That in the months of March and September, in each year, an accurate account should be taken, in each parish, of all the male and female children of the poor, arrived at an age to be put out as apprentices, with their names, ages, height, and apparent strength; and also the names and places of residence of their parents, distinguishing those who receive parochical relief from others, who, although not paupers, are yet unable to apprentice out their children: distinguishing also the children wholly maintained in workhouses. The whole to be registered in the parish books, according to a form or table to be prescribed, and, for the sake of uniformity, to apply to every parish in the kingdom; and a copy of those tables to be transmitted to the secretary of the board of education, on or before the 6th of April and the 10th of October, in each year.

3. That handbills or advertisements should be published every six months, inviting *agriculturists*, *handicrafts*, *artisans*, *manufacturers*, and others, to inspect these registers, with a view to their receiving the children therein mentioned and described, as servants and apprentices, and to enter into engagements for that purpose.

4. That, with a view to applications from remote distances, it would be the province of the board of education to determine, in all cases where a sufficient resource could not be found in the parish or its immediate vicinity, according to rules to be established, ascertaining such limits, and to direct and authorize such arrangements to be made, as should provide for the apprenticing of children, for whom masters had not been found in the neighbourhood, within a given time; when returns of such children, according to a form to be prescribed, should be made to the secretary of the board of education.

5. That periodical returns should also be made to the secretary of the board of education, of all children apprenticed out by the respective parishes, according to a form to be prescribed, that there may be in one place a general register of the whole, with every circumstance relative to such apprentices, *the residence of their parents—the county and parish where bound—the place of residence of the master*—his trade or occupation—the age of the

apprentice—when bound—and the duration of his apprenticeship.

The utility of such a system requires no comment, no elucidation. Its advantages, in a moral and political point of view, are too obvious to require illustration: a superintendence so honourable would extend the resource for masters and mistresses, and the registers would, in a few years, afford the statesman and politician a fund of information, explanatory of the strength and resources of the country, which would be invaluable. Through this medium the industry of the nation could be traced in all its ramifications, and many important facts ascertained, in the highest degree useful. Under such a paramount superintendence and guardianship, the children destined, by useful labour, to increase the riches of the country, or to be employed in its defence, would be reared with greater attention, both with respect to health and morals, and a knowledge of the art or mystery in which they were to be instructed. The frequent returns, and the accuracy of the central establishment, or board of education, would excite vigilance and punctuality on the part of the parochial managers, while the annual parliamentary reports would ensure a permanent and uniform attention to the duties assigned to this board to perform. A design, thus systematized, must necessarily execute itself; and hence it is, that in all matters respecting the poor, with a view to the

improvement of their condition, and to render them useful to themselves and the state, the same connected chain of statistical labour, beginning with local managers and terminating by annual reports to His Majesty in council and to both Houses of Parliament, have been recommended. It is impossible that the legislature can be too much enlightened on subjects of internal police, since that august body is frequently called upon to legislate on subjects of this nature, under circumstances often where minute and useful facts, necessary to inform and guide the mind, are not accessible through any medium at present in existence.

CHAPTER VII.

An Inquiry into the Causes which have produced the Indigence and Misery demonstrated by the unexampled Number of Paupers, and the vast Increase of the parochial Rates.—A general View of the progressive Rise of these Rates in the Course of 126 *Years.—The Evil not to be attributed to an increased Population, nor to the Decrease in the Value of Money.—Neither have the increased Assessments tended to reduce the Number of the Indigent, or to ameliorate their Condition.—The Inquiry prosecuted, by a Reference to the Act of the* 43 *of Elizabeth, and the subsequent Laws for regulating the Affairs of Paupers.—The Principle of the Act of the* 13 *and* 14 *Charles II. examined, and its Provisions shortly detailed.—The Evils it produced as the Origin of the Law of Settlement and Removal.—This Statute the chief Cause of the Increase of Paupers, and the Debasement of Character produced by its Execution on the labouring People.—Attempted to be amended by the Statute of the* 8 *and* 9 *of William III.—The Provisions of this Act briefly stated, and Reasons assigned for its Inefficiency.—The System of Settlements farther regulated by the* 12 *of Anne.—The Provisions of this Statute*

explained.—The Machinery of these Statutes farther extended by 5 *George I.—The Inefficacy of these various Laws demonstrated by the Increase of the Evil.—The Warfare of Parishes respecting Settlements and Removals excessive.—A new Expedient resorted to, by the* 9 *George I. authorizing Contract Workhouses.—Further Restrictions relative to Settlements introduced into this Act.—These Restrictions briefly detailed.—Declared by the* 3 *of George II. to be still ineffectual, and further Provisions established.—Again amended by the* 17 *George II.—Observations on the practical Operation of these Acts, during a Period of* 140 *Years.—The great Abuses which they generated. —The vast Number of Law Cases adjudicated on these Statutes, arising from their Intricacy and Perplexity.—A detailed View of the System of Settlements, as established ultimately by these Acts.—General Observations on the Errors of the System, and the Mischiefs produced by it, on the Manners and Feelings of the Poor.—The Expense of Litigations and Removals at three different Periods, as stated in the Parliamentary Returns.—A general View of the* Law and other Expenses, *unconnected with the actual Relief of the Paupers, during the last Century.—The Act of the* 36 *of His present Majesty softened in a certain Degree the Law of Settlements; but it is still*

greatly defective.—A general Revision of the Law of Settlements necessary, with a View to the Removal of the Evils which still exist.

THE facts which have been disclosed in the preceding pages, and the suggestions which have been offered, with a view to the removal of evils, the existence of which forms a singular paradox in human affairs, when applied to a country so full of resources, naturally invite a more minute inquiry, and a greater degree of research into the causes which have produced such a mass of indigence, in a community where it has been shewn that agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, flourish in an endless variety, and to a boundless extent and perfection:—where it should seem, that the channels of productive industry are inexhaustible, and in which every human being, not in a state of absolute debility, may have access to employment, suited to all the gradations of strength, skill, and capacity:—where even a resource for the employment of infants has sprung up, rendering their labour productive in no inconsiderable degree, in numerous districts of the country, and thereby adding to the means of subsistence.

While, under these circumstances, so much misery and moral turpitude exist, it is but too evident that these evils must have their origin in some radical defect existing in the fundamental principles, acted upon as they apply to the pauper system.

If a conclusion were to be drawn from the situation and resources of the country, as to the effect which ought to be produced, it would follow as a clear proposition, that there should exist in England a greater proportion of comfort, among the labouring people, than in any country in the world, and that misery and wretchedness could seldom disclose itself in any shape or in any situation; yet it is a melancholy truth, that it is to be found every where; and, in spite of the numerous legislative regulations, framed with a view to lessen the evil, it increases with the most rapid strides.

The cause, it should seem, cannot be traced to an augmented population, since this increase has by no means kept pace with the rapid and progressive rise of the rates, while the resources for employment have been advancing every year.

In 1677,	when the population was estimated at	5,000,000	the rates were about	£ 700,000
In 1698,	idem	5,400,000	idem	819,000
In 1710,	idem	5,240,000	idem	1,000,000
In 1730,	idem	5,796,000	supposed about	1,100,000
In 1751,	idem	6,476,000	(a year of dearth) ditto	3,000,000
In 1776,	idem	7,728,000	ascertained from returns	1,530,804
In 1783 to 1785,	idem	8,016,000	idem	2,004,238
In 1803,	idem	9,168,000	idem	4,267,965

This statement shews that the rates have increased within a century upwards of fivefold, on a population which has not been doubled, while, in the last nineteen years, on an increased population

of only one ninth part, the assessments, for paupers only, have been augmented more than *twofold*.

Some other cause or causes, than that of an increased population, must therefore have operated to produce this extraordinary effect, since it has in no respect kept pace with the augmented expense, which ought only to have been about one ninth part, or, in round numbers, about £220,000 instead of £2,263,000.

If an attempt be made to discover the cause in the decrease in the value of money, it will be equally unsuccessful; for although the money-price of many of the necessaries of life has greatly increased within the last fifteen years, yet, with the exception of seasons of scarcity and dearth, the register of the Windsor market shews, that the average of the price of wheat had, upon the whole, rather decreased during the periods applicable to the comparative view of the progress of the parochial rates; while wages, with some few exceptions, have been nearly doubled, almost in every branch of industry, and in most parts of the country, within the last twenty years.

In none of the foregoing *causes*, therefore, is there any thing that can be found to warrant a conclusion that they have produced the excessive advance in the parochial assessments, which has taken place. Where, therefore, can the genuine cause of this increase be found? Can it be traced to the im-

proved condition of the lower orders of society? Has this excessive expenditure ameliorated their situation? Do they present an aspect of greater comfort, of improved habits of industry or moral rectitude? Daily experience, in every part of the kingdom, furnishes a decisive negative to such inquiries.

Very serious and important reflections arise out of these results, which cannot fail to arrest the attention of the calm observer, at a moment when the bulk of mankind are prone to measure the strength and happiness of the nation by no other scale than its increasing exports and imports, its manufactures and revenue. They are all, no doubt, a ground of exultation and triumph, which would be a complete demonstration of the national prosperity, if the state of society did not demonstrate, on the other hand, an accumulation of *wretchedness, vices, and crimes*. As a contrast to the glare of wealth and the splendour of opulence, we have the mortification to see our dungeons filled with criminals, our gaols with debtors, our poor-houses with wretched objects of all descriptions, and our streets and villages with scenes of human misery, while the dreary dwellings of the indigent exhibit to the view of those who will condescend to visit them, a still more aggravated picture of distresses and sufferings, which are never witnessed without shocking the feelings of humanity.

The existence of such evils, ascertained by the

most irrefragable evidence, should beget an anxiety and solicitude to ascertain the causes, lest (to use the language of an elegant writer), "like the lofty "tree, proudly spreading its extended branches, "displaying its luxuriant foliage, while a canker is "working deeply at the root; we should be rising "only to fall a more splendid picture of departed "greatness."

It may be useful to those to whom it may be assigned to develope the cause which has produced effects so extraordinary and paradoxical, to attempt a more enlarged inquiry into the principles and progress of the poor laws, with a view to ascertain their operation, since the groundwork was first laid by the 43 of Elizabeth.

It has been already stated, in the first chapter, pages 52 and 53, that the indigent, by this act, were divided into three obvious and distinct classes; first, children whose parents were unable to maintain them; secondly, adults able to work, but who were either without the means or inclination to pursue it; and, thirdly, the really impotent and necessitous: for each of these classes the provisions were equally suitable. For the first and second the requisite materials for work were to be provided; the children were to be put out apprentices; and for the third, the necessary relief and habitations for their abode.

There appear to be no existing documents or history which can throw any correct light upon the ope-

ration of this apparently salutary act, nor any other evidence of its success, than that it remained stationary, and without any amendment, for a period of about sixty years, during the latter part of which interval the general economy of the country was greatly disturbed by the civil war, and by other political troubles, which could not fail to produce not only a relaxed execution of the pauper system, but perhaps, in many instances, a total disorganization in those quarters where the war raged at different times. Wherever a country is afflicted by convulsions of this nature, its civil polity must of course be neglected.

In the reign of James I. it appears that the attention of the legislature was directed to the state of vagrancy, and new and severe punishments were inflicted on rogues and vagabonds *; but it was not found expedient to touch the act of Elizabeth until the reign of Charles II.

By the act of the 13 and 14 of the reign of that sovereign, cap. 12, the legislature complains, in the preamble, of the "necessity, number, and "continual increase of the poor; that they had "become exceeding burdensome, which is attri- "buted to defects in the law respecting settlements, "and for want of due provisions for relief and em- "ployment in such parishes where they are legally "settled, which doth enforce many to become in- "corrigible rogues, and others to perish for want,

* See page 67.

"together with the neglect of the faithful execu-
"tion of the laws made for apprehending rogues
"and vagabonds, and for the good of the poor."

Without reflecting that the 43 of Elizabeth (which seemed to have left little to amend, except in the practice, which was parochial, while the principle was national) had not, from the convulsed state of the country, had a fair operation, this amending act, without extending to *the national principle a national practice*, and enforcing the provisions of the existing statute in question, ordains that persons renting any tenement under £10 a year, and residing forty days in any parish not deemed his legal settlement, may be removed to his own parish. It farther provides that corporation workhouses shall be established within the bills of mortality, and for dividing counties into townships and villages, for the better execution of the act of Elizabeth.

The law of settlements, which has proved such a source of litigation and perplexity in the execution of the pauper system, had its origin in this act. A restraint is here laid upon the free circulation of labour. If a poor man could not dispose of it in his own parish, he durst not go to another, where a demand existed, and, if the overseers did not provide work, he had no alternative but to starve. A legal warfare between parish and parish was thus created, since it was in vain to expect that a virtuous labourer could remain where he had

no means of existence. The vicious and the idle, availing themselves of the same excuse, left their homes, and became rogues and vagabonds. The act does nothing to compel the overseers to provide work for those who were thus to be kept prisoners within their own parishes. Its provisions are only calculated to punish the unfortunate victims who dared to seek for that subsistence in another parish, which was no where to be found in their own. The mere surmise, or ill-grounded opinion, whether originating in mistaken zeal or personal resentment, that an individual was *likely to become chargeable* to the parish, where his labour had procured that subsistence for his family which did not exist in his own, was sufficient to obtain the warrant of two justices to remove the whole to their own settlement, there to abide, under the penalty of being punished as a rogue and vagabond, *although able and willing to work*. It is true indeed, that, by the 43 of Elizabeth, work was to be found for persons under such circumstances; but it was not in many instances provided. The poor could not indict the overseers for neglect, and through no other medium could they be forced to execute the law. Instead of the statute attaching to the persons who could alone apply a remedy, its provisions only went to harass and oppress the industrious labourer, and to drive him to desperation. To this ill-fated act (the 13 and 14 Charles II.) and its erroneous principles, fol-

lowed up too tenaciously in subsequent statutes, is to be attributed much, very much of the evils which have afflicted society for more than a century past, while from this source (the *doctrine and practice of settlement and removal)* may be traced the excessive accumulation of paupers and vagabonds, and the great increase of the public burdens for their maintenance.

The history of the indigent, from that æra to the present time, forms a striking instance of the fatal consequences in misapplying remedies, affecting a numerous and diversified class of individuals. The effects which have been produced, although imperceptible in their progress, are at length discovered by the accumulation of the evils to which they are ultimately found to have led.

This new system of settlements, however, was discovered in practice to be full of imperfections and evasions, to remedy which the statute of the 3 and 4 of William and Mary, cap. 2, recognises the acts of the 13 and 14 of Charles II. and the 1 of James II. as *good and wholesome laws,* and not only provides for their continuance, but, while it appears to extend the privileges of the poor, creates at the same time a new system of restraints and checks, increasing the machinery of a system radically wrong, and rendering it more complicated and perplexing, and still more hostile to the free circulation of labour, without any effectual provision for giving to the poor that means of subsistence

at home, which they durst not seek for out of their own parishes. Here the wise system of Elizabeth, and its excellent provisions, are more widely departed from.

The impolicy, however, of this restrictive law of settlement, and the great inconveniences attending it, became more sensibly felt, as evinced by the act of the 8 and 9 of William, only five years after, containing new regulations, preceded by the following remarkable preamble—"Where-"as many poor persons, chargeable to the parish "or place where they live, merely for want of "work, would in any other place, where suffi-"cient employment is to be had, maintain them-"selves and families without being burdensome to "any other parish; but not being able to give the "security required on their coming to settle in "any other place, and the certificates that have "been usually given in such cases, being con-"strued into *a notice in hand writing*, they are for "the most part confined to live in their own "parishes, and not permitted to inhabit elsewhere, "though their labour is wanted in many other "places, where the increase of manufactures would "employ more hands."

This preamble completely acknowledges the errors of the former system: but, singular as it should seem, its enacting clauses tend still more to narrow and embarrass the system.

It provides, that where certificates are obtained

from parish officers, acknowledging poor persons to be legally settled with them, such certificates should oblige the parish to which the poor person removed to receive him and his family, and not to remove them until they became chargeable. This privilege had been already granted by the 13 and 14 Charles II. and the only difference in this case was, that the certificate was subject to formalities still more intricate and difficult than before. It was still in the option of the parish officers to grant or withhold it. The machinery was extended, by rendering it necessary to grant the certificates under the hands and seals of the parish officers, attested by two or more witnesses, and allowed by two justices.

The primary mode of relief, by providing stocks of raw materials in each parish, as directed by the 39 and 43 of Elizabeth, is no longer thought of: this principle is wholly sunk and forgotten in parish disputes and contests about settlements.

The second section of this act contains a most singular provision: "To the end, that the money "raised only for the relief of such as are as well "impotent and poor, may not be misapplied and "consumed by idle, sturdy, and disorderly beggars, "it is enacted," *that every person receiving parish relief shall wear a badge upon his arm*, under the penalty of losing the relief, and being committed to and whipped at the house of correction; and none are to be relieved without this badge of de-

gradation, however irreproachable their conduct may have been, as virtuous paupers reduced by causes where no blame could be imputed. Had this badge been placed on the idle and vicious sturdy beggars, with a view to their disgrace, it might have been well merited; but to stigmatize innocent indigence in this way, is only to add insult to misfortune.

The third section of this act proves the existence of *vexatious removals and frivolous appeals*, even at that early period; to prevent which, the justices in session may award costs at their discretion. The peril of costs is only held out as a check! How it could so operate, where means would be found to charge such costs to the public in either case, is not easy to conceive. Of the poor objects of these frivolous litigations, who were thus driven from their miserable abodes, and bandied about from place to place, in opposition to the common feelings of humanity, not one word occurs in the act!

The fourth section precludes servants hired for a year from gaining settlements under such hiring, unless they remain *one whole year*, thereby narrowing still more the means of making a settlement. And thus a statute, describing in strong terms the inconveniences arising from the shackles laid on the free circulation of labour by former restrictive laws, actually establishes provisions calculated to rivet those chains more firmly.

All this, however, was not found sufficient,

since, as it should seem, to fortify still more that very system which had fanned the flame of hostility thus created between parish and parish, it was enacted by the 9 and 10 of William, cap. 11, "That "as some doubts have arisen upon the construction "of the statute of the 8 and 9 of the same reign, "by which act, any person coming to inhabit "within any parish, by virtue of any certificate, may "procure a legal settlement therein, and whether "such certificate did not amount to a notice in "writing, in order to gain a settlement," it is enacted, "that no person coming into any parish, "by any such certificate, shall be adjudged by any "act whatever to have gained a legal settlement "therein, unless he shall *bona fide* take a lease of "a tenement of the value of ten pounds (the words "*for a year* are omitted), or shall execute some "annual office in such parish, being legally placed "in such office."

From this period the pauper system remained without alteration, until the 12 Anne, stat. 1, cap. 18, which, after recognising the act of the 13 and 14 Charles II. *as a very useful and necessary law*, and noticing the 8 and 9 of William III. cap. 30, as to certificates, recites, "That where-"as many persons bringing certificates do fre-"quently take apprentices by indenture, and hire "and keep servants by the year, who, by reason "of such apprenticeships and services, do gain set-"tlements in, and become a great burden to such

"parishes, though such masters, coming with "such certificates, have, by virtue thereof, no "settlement therein:—it is enacted, that no ap- "prentice or servant, of a certificate person, shall, "by means of such apprenticeship or service, gain "any settlement, but shall have his settlement as "if he had not been such servant or apprentice."

In this warfare and hostility towards the poor, so rapid in its progress, the persevering industry which has been manifested in resorting to new expedients, on the one side to evade, and on the other to secure the operation of this ill-fated system, is not a little remarkable.

Under such circumstances, it ceases to be a matter of wonder, that the restraints thus multiplied (by a well-intentioned but mistaken policy) upon the poor, by this principle of locality, should suggest to their minds new shifts for the purpose of evading them.

This observation acquires force from the circumstance of a subsequent act, passed five years after (the 5 Geo. I. cap. 8), the preamble of which states, "That whereas divers persons run or go "away from their places of abode into other coun- "ties or places, and sometimes out of the kingdom; "some men leaving their wives or children, and "some mothers leaving a child or children upon "the charge of the parish where born or settled, "although such persons have *some estates*, which "should ease the parish of their charge, in whole

" or in part :" and afterwards authorizes the parish officers, by a warrant of two justices, to seize so much of the goods, and to receive the annual profits of the lands of such husband, father, or mother, as such justices shall direct, towards refunding the parish.

The fatal consequences of this new and additional fetter upon industry certainly were not foreseen by the legislature. This patchwork, upon a system radically erroneous, deprives husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers, unprovided with the means of subsistence in those parishes where technical niceties and refinements had settled them (when driven by dire necessity to break through the endearing ties of natural affection, to the sad alternative of seeking for labour at a distance from home), of the little property they left, which in such cases is sequestered to the parish, thereby frustrating every hope of restoring virtuous indigence to a state of independent poverty.

Notwithstanding, however, these accumulated restrictions, indigence multiplied and parochial rates increased, which suggested to the legislature the adoption of measures still more decisive, since four years had scarcely elapsed, when the 9 Geo. I. cap. 7, consigned, indiscriminately, all persons requiring relief to the control of a contractor, to be subject to compulsive labour for food and clothing, in parish workhouses, *now authorized generally by the legislature.* Farther restrictions, by the ninth

section, are established with regard to settlements, by providing that no sum under £30, actually paid down for any tenement or land, shall gain a settlement, longer than the purchaser shall remain upon the estate, thereby accumulating the intricacies of a system already overloaded with technical refinements. By the seventh section, the payment of rates for scavengers and highways is also declared to be no settlement. The eighth section regulates notices of appeal; and the ninth authorizes the sessions to award reimbursement, as to persons appearing, on an appeal, to be improperly removed: a strong proof of the existence of great abuses, in forcing poor creatures from their homes upon slight grounds, and of the intricacy of the system, which admitted of various constructions.

These amendments, however, were still found defective. The poor objects, it should seem, reverted to various devices to elude restrictions which they felt to be severe; and therefore the act of the 3 of George II. cap. 19, subjected them to new difficulties in obtaining certificates, by regulations respecting their validity. The same act directs how parishes removing certificated poor shall be reimbursed; but with respect to the paupers themselves it is totally silent.

It appears, from the next act applicable to the pauper system, namely, the 17 George II. cap. 38, that parish officers, at this period, were in many instances defaulters, with respect to the

funds placed in their hands, since the provisions of this act go to compel them to account for money received, and to the recovery of the payment of the rates; but still, notwithstanding their being thus recognised as undeserving of confidence, they were considered as fit to hold the public purse, and competent judges of the *national misery*. After the lapse of fourteen years, difficulties appear to have occurred respecting the legal settlement of apprentices, where the contracts were *not indented*. It should seem, from the preamble of this act, that many apprentices had been refused a settlement, merely because the scissars had not been applied in making a few curves in the parchment or paper, by which they were bound and resided forty days. To remedy, therefore, what the act calls a *mischief*, it is declared, that a service of forty days shall make a settlement, although the contract be not indented. And thus a *mischief* is provided against, which the 12 of Anne, cap. 18, was expressly made to produce, in the case of apprentices and servants of certificated persons.

Here the complicated machinery of settlements and removals rested until the 36 of His present Majesty, anno 1796.

The practical operation of these acts, during a period of one hundred and forty years (although no doubt framed with the best intentions), exhibits a system of litigation, and a waste of

public money, exceeding any thing that can be imagined by the most fertile mind. The original intention of the design, as explained in the 43 of Elizabeth, was all lost sight of, in legal warfare, in prosecuting and defending appeals. The question was not, how the poor should be set to work, or by what means stocks of proper raw materials should be procured for that purpose; but how the parish officers could best avail themselves of legal subtilties in order to get rid of *intruders*.

The attention of those assigned to guard the interest of the poor, to prop up innocent poverty when on the eve of descending into indigence—to procure work as a means of subsistence, for those who could not otherwise find it, and to diminish the parochial rates, by rendering the labour of the people (who had only labour to dispose of) productive, was thus diverted into a new and mischievous channel of litigation. The accumulation of acts of Parliament having rendered the system of settlements so extremely perplexed, legal advisers became necessary, and hence originated the expensive appendage of vestry clerks, regularly educated to the profession of the law, in all or most of the parishes where the population was extensive.

The prolific source which the law of settlements thus afforded for litigation; the legal knowledge necessary to put so complicated a machinery in motion; and the incompetency of parish officers to com-

prehend, or to form a judgment how far the rights of the parish were or were not invaded, naturally placed the chief management in the hands of the law advisers.

Without meaning any imputation upon those to whom it was assigned to give advice on such occasions, a slight knowledge of human nature will demonstrate what must be the result. The interest of all men naturally guides the mind towards those objects where profit is to arise from professional labour. Litigation is a source of profit to those who conduct it. The public purse is large, and not to be exhausted—demands upon it are less subject to control or investigation than when applicable to private individuals—juntos can, by intrigue, be formed to pass accounts; and hence the preference given to public over private business, whenever it can be obtained.

It has been already stated, that the act of the 13 and 14 of Charles II. cap. 12, laid the foundation of all the settlement laws as they stand at the present day: and it is but too true, that on this one statute more causes have been adjudged than upon any fifty, or perhaps a greater number of any other acts of Parliament that at present exist. Indeed it is impossible to refer to these multifarious cases without deploring the depth of intricacy, perplexity, subtilty, and refinement, which have arisen out of a subject which, of all others,

ought to have been the most simple and conclusive as to what was intended *.

* It would tire the reader to enter into a detail of the legal subtilties, which these and the subsequent laws of settlement have generated. The cases which have come under legal adjudication, in the inferior and superior courts of law, are beyond all calculation numerous.

I.

Certificates.

The cases under the head of certificates, as detailed by Dr. Burn, and ably stated and enlarged by Mr. Const, exhibit a melancholy proof of the impolicy of the whole system. A learned judge, in his observations upon a question arising out of this regulation, expresses himself to the following purpose:

"To be sure it was a radical defect in the system of the poor "laws, more especially in a commercial and manufacturing "country, that the poor should be all confined to their re- "spective parishes:—possessed of industry, vigour, and skill, "a man who could not find work at home was prohibited from "finding it abroad. The legislature endeavoured to cure this "evil, by introducing certificates, under which the pauper is "at liberty to go and reside wherever he pleases; and the true "principle is to extend this to the utmost latitude:—there "should be no clog, no restraint; *but then the act did not com-* "*pel the granting them.*"

II.

Birth.

Cases of settlement by birth are full of perplexity.—The acts are wholly silent respecting the settlement of wives and children (except in the case of bastard children): these are left to implication. Bastards are in this case more highly favoured than legitimate children, whose settlement is with the father, if known; if not known, with the mother; and if neither are known, then ultimately at the place of their birth. This naturally

The number of cases which have arisen upon *mere matters of form* exceed all calculation. Nothing has generates a source of litigation, as it may often be difficult to ascertain any of these points.

A woman marrying again, and thereby gaining a new settlement in right of her husband, was held not to communicate that new settlement to her former children, by means of which a separation between the mother and these children was in this case completely established. Where the father had run away, and the mother had resided with the child on an estate of her own, it was held that neither mother nor child could gain a settlement, as they could only derive it from the father.

III.

Apprenticeships.

By 13 and 14 Charles II. cap. 12, forty days residence, as an apprentice, gained a settlement. The act of the 1 James II. having required notice of residence to be given (a new clog), apprentices were considered as implicated in that regulation; to remedy which the 3 of William and Mary, cap. 11, provides, that apprentices should gain a settlement without such notice: but by the 9 and 10 of the same king, cap. 11, no certificated person could gain a settlement without taking a tenement of £10 a year, or serving an annual office, which, by a side wind, excluded apprentices. By the act of the 12 Anne, cap. 11, an apprentice of a certificated person was not to gain a settlement: but the 31 George II. since enacted that he was not to lose his settlement, where he happened not to be bound by indenture; distinctions were afterwards added by various stamp duties upon deeds and apprentice fees, the non-compliance with which vitiated settlements. From these laws respecting apprentices, have arisen cases and controversies without number; and although, as far as respected duties, the non-compliance was no fault of the apprentice, yet he is made to suffer, although he served faithfully. Other subtilties occur in

been left untried by the parties litigating, at the public expense, to gain their point; and even after the various contingencies under which apprentices may be placed, which opens a door to endless litigation and expense, where nothing in fact is to be gained.

IV.

Hiring, and Service for a Year.

Under this head occurs a still more fruitful source of difficulties, subtilties, and refinements. It would be an endless task to follow these cases through all their variety; the bare existence, *well ascertained*, of such a complicated source of vexation, is the best evidence of the impolicy of the system.

V.

Legitimate Children and Wives.

The rules established by courts, as to legitimate children following their parish settlements, have given rise to numerous questions about the sort of marriage which ought to constitute *legitimacy*. Hardships of a twofold nature arise out of this source—1st, the hardship of children being compelled to prove their legitimacy; and 2d, that of being driven back to their father's settlement, acquired perhaps many years anterior to their birth, and where they are totally unknown, and were never heard of. The simple principle applies to a wife following the settlement of her husband.

VI.

Settlement by paying Parish Rates.

In order to gain a settlement under this head, the rates must be paid, which is so far right; but there must be a charge previously made, which is construed into a notice, and for want of this useless formality settlements have been set aside, although the rates were *bona fide* paid. Certificated men have

question is settled, as to where the miserable pauper is to be removed, a new system of chicanery

been also denied a settlement, even by paying rates, and also their apprentices and annual servants. A tenant's paying the land-tax, although ultimately repaid by the landlord, has been found to constitute a settlement, as a part of the parish laws. Yet assessments for scavengers and highways, although evidently for the benefit of the parish, have been adjudged to gain no settlement. Government assessed taxes stand in the same situation.

VII.

Settlement by serving a Parish Office.

Under this head, a parish clerk, a deputy clerk, a sexton, a hog-ringer, an ale-taster, and a hayward, were found to gain a settlement; yet a curate, appointed by the bishop, and doing duty, and actually residing in the parish, was excluded. In this singular case there is a record of a regular clergyman of the church of England, removed as a pauper, and two parishes, in which he had exercised his sacred functions, carrying a dispute into the court of King's Bench, to have it determined which of them should afford him common parish relief!

VIII.

Settlement by renting £10 a Year.

Another luxuriant source of litigation arises under this head of settlement.

1. What shall be deemed a renting?
2. What a residence?
3. What a tenement at all?
4. What a tenement of £10 a year?
5. Two tenements in the same parish, together making more than £10 year?
6. The like renting in different parishes?

is resorted to, applicable to the technical forms to be observed in shaping the order of the justices,

Many questions have arisen, under various circumstances, with a view to settle the law on these and other points, and they have generally received a liberal construction; but still it is open to disputes and litigation, from the various shades which it assumes.

IX.

Settlement by Residence upon a Person's own Estate.

The act of the 13 and 14 Charles II. gives the power of removing any person coming to settle in any tenement under £10 a year. Yet the court humanely construed this act not to extend to persons residing on their own estates, however small. This decision suggested the expedient of purchasing small tenures, where the labouring people could find them either actually or colourably, generally choosing those parishes where they thought they could be best able to subsist:—but it had no sooner manifested itself, than the same principle of hostility against gaining settlements appears to have suggested a clause in the 9 of George I. cap. 7, by which it is provided, that no person shall gain a settlement by virtue of any such purchase, where the money *bona fide* paid did not amount to £30, and no longer than he should inhabit such estate, after which he should be removable to his former settlement.

X.

Orders of Removal.

The rage for litigation, on the part of parish managers, has been carried to such a height, that, in order to spin out the contests, regardless of the expense, objections have been taken to every trifling verbal omission in the orders of removal, and mere matter of form. Thus an order was quashed which mentioned a county town, but omitted to add the county also, although it bore the same name. Another, because it was

and in executing the same. Although, in point of fact, such orders have nothing to do with the merits of the case, or substantial justice; yet Dr. Burn observes, that there have been as many questions and decisions upon mere matters of form as upon the various acts relative to settlements. Orders of removal have been quashed in consequence of the most trifling inaccuracies and technical omissions, adding thereby to the hardship and inconvenience to which the poor objects were subjected, who became the victims of errors, in committing which they could have no share, and who were thus harassed and driven from place to place, in search of a miserable relief, suited to their degraded and forlorn condition. It is true that the 5 of George II. enables the sessions to amend errors in orders of removal; but the court of King's Bench has established a distinction between *errors of form* and *errors in substance*, and thence adjudged the former as only amendable under this act; but having considered most of the

directed to the officers of the parish removed to, instead of those of the removing parish. A third, for stating the order was made on *complaint only*, and not on complaint of the parish officers. A fourth, for stating *Complaint has been made to us*, without adding *two justices* of the peace. A fifth, for saying the justices only, and not justices of the peace. A sixth, for stating justices of the peace *in* the said county, and not *in and for*:—to which may be added many other cases, equally frivolous and inconsequent.

informalities as *errors in substance*, they are nearly as fatal as if the act had no existence.

It may fairly be questioned how far a tenacious adherence to mere forms and modes of expression, on subjects of general regulation, so extensive and various as those respecting the poor, and where the persons who have to observe them are generally none of the most literate or intelligent, may be expedient, especially under circumstances where, for the most part, it only tends to harass the distressed individuals who are the objects of them, without answering any good or useful purpose.

The numerous legislative restrictions are of themselves sufficiently perplexing, without further embarrassing the system by intricacies, which a tenacious adherence to mere forms has produced. And it is not a little to be lamented, that the spirit with which these contemptible disputes, hanging not on the justice of the case, but upon mere technical forms, should have generated so many disputes, and occasioned such a waste of public money: all which has tended to distress, instead of ameliorating the condition of the poor.

It is impossible to contemplate the various ramifications of the system of settlement and removal, without deeply lamenting that a design (no doubt well intended) originating in so imperfect a knowledge of political economy, and so hostile to every principle of humanity and sound policy, should have gained such deep root, and become

so completely incorporated with the law and civil polity of a country, in which the means of effectually employing the poor on one hand, and of relieving their actual necessities on the other, are so peculiarly abundant.

Nothing has tended in so great a degree to debase their minds, and to reduce multitudes to a state of indigence, who, under a better system, might have remained in a state of independent poverty, adding to the resources of the country a great augmentation of productive labour.

These constant interferences respecting settlements have unquestionably given a most injurious bias to the minds of the labouring people. In the various disputes about who shall afford them an asylum, they have been led to conceive that exertion and industry become less necessary, since the parish to which they belong is, under every circumstance, compelled to maintain them.

The frequency of these interferences on the part of parish officers, and the multitudes who have been carted from place to place, with their children, have tended in no small degree to generate vagrancy, since they are always unwelcome guests in the receiving parishes. With characters thus degraded and rendered doubtful,, and often without a single relation or acquaintance in the place which has, through the refinements upon the law, been deemed their settlement, what are they to do? The parish officers have provided no means of employing them; and for their labour, their

only means of subsistence, they can find no purchaser, and yet they dare not return to the parish where they could be useful to themselves and their country.

In this situation, unable to exist on the scanty pittance afforded by the parish, and without the means of filling up the chasm by their own industry, their characters assume a new and degraded form, and where not immured in a workhouse, they have no resource but to resort to the miserable alternative of hazarding a more degrading punishment by asking alms, where absolute infirmity does not establish a claim to full subsistence. The unfavourable impression, however, respecting the right which all ranks among the poor entertain they have acquired to parochial relief under every circumstance, is unfortunately too widely disseminated.

To this mischievous bias, this degradation of the mind, the laws of settlement are in a great degree to be attributed. That the invidious distinction as to what parish should be bound to maintain a miserable pauper, should have become a principle of action, and so serious a subject of litigation, in a country where benevolence forms the leading characteristic, instead of a generous emulation, dictated as well by policy as humanity, struggling who should be most forward and active in preventing the distresses of the indigent, by placing them in a situation to help themselves, *is truly astonishing.*

Of the vexatious and ruinous effect of the system, enough has been said to convince the greatest sceptic, that its tendency has been to degrade the human character, and to vitiate and corrupt the minds of the labouring people. It has often been remarked by a late eminent chief justice of the court of King's Bench, "that armies of "counsel were frequently arrayed to contend about "which of two parishes should be bound to provide "a scanty subsistence to a miserable pauper, with "as much zeal as if the title to the first estate in "the kingdom were at stake, and at an expense "which would probably have supported fifty such "paupers during their whole lives."

These litigations have now lasted about one hundred and forty years.

	£.	s.	d.
The reports to Parliament, made in the year 1776, state the law charges, spent in litigation only, in that year, at - - - - -	35,000	0	0
The further reports in 1783, 1784, and 1785, make the average expenses of litigation, removals, entertainments, and other charges*	91,998	1	8
And by the last return, made in 1803, the sums expended in litigation, removals, entertainments, and other charges, are stated to be - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	190,072	17	0

* Distribution of the expense of 1785.

Litigation - - - - - - - -	£55,000
Removals - - - - - - - -	25,000
Entertainments, &c. - - - - - -	12,000
	£92,000

Striking off forty years of the above period, when the expenses must have been, comparatively speaking, inconsiderable, and averaging the expense for the century at the following sums, namely,

Litigations	30,000	in 100 years	£3,000,000
Removals	20,000	- - -	2,000,000
Entertainments, &c.	10,000	- - -	1,000,000
		The total amount is	£6,000,000

It is probably, however, much more than six millions, if data could be obtained to ascertain the precise fact, since the average of the last twenty years, for *litigations*, *removals*, *dinners*, and other expenses, cannot, at the most moderate computation, be estimated at less than two millions sterling!

The act of the 13 and 14 Charles II. impolitic and short-sighted as it has proved (although seen too late), carried the principle no farther than *a mere residence of forty days*. It was then considered as sufficiently marking the distinction between the orderly and decent labouring people, who come into a parish to subsist by honest industry, and those who might be considered as mere vagrants; and forty days, therefore, was deemed a sufficient ground of claim to relief, when necessity should call for it. Yet this short and simple criterion became afterwards lost in the complicated maze of distinctions grafted upon it.

After a warfare of nearly a century, during which period the superior judges have been so often called upon to adjudicate on those complicated and nice

distinctions, it should seem reasonable to suppose, that litigations would not be so numerous, and that the expense would be lessened; and yet it appears, that by comparing the law, and other expenses incurred in 1785, with those of 1803, they have more than doubled; the former amounting to £91,998, and the latter to £190,072. In the last return it is not indeed particularized what precise sum was applicable to law-suits, but from the general aggregate there is no doubt of its having greatly exceeded the sum expended in 1785.

But admitting the position, that future disputes are not so likely to occur, from the law on the various cases being in a great measure settled; yet the facts, upon which questions may arise, are, from the nature and circumstances of the proof, so exceedingly vague and uncertain, depending chiefly upon the evidence of persons of the meanest description, that little dependence can be placed on such testimony; and yet on this foundation alone does the whole law of settlements rest.

In proportion as the human character becomes degraded by humiliating circumstances, in the same degree is it in most instances vitiated and corrupted; and it is a melancholy truth, that the shifts and expedients to which miserable objects have often been driven, by the mistaken hostility they have experienced, have been productive of the most flagrant deception and perjury.

The strong desire, which persons under such circumstances entertain (unrestrained by any principle of moral rectitude) to have their settlements adjudged where their inclinations most strongly lead them to be fixed, or to avoid being sent to parishes to which they have an utter aversion, will always generate artifice, deception, and perjury:—a lamentable state of things, which all magistrates, who have had much practice in this branch of police, must have strongly felt and deplored. It is indeed impossible to review the system in all its parts, without being forcibly struck with the evils and imperfections which it discloses. While the English and Welsh people are so anxiously restricted from gaining settlements, or residing out of parishes to which they were adjudged to belong, His Majesty's Scotch and Irish subjects (and foreigners from all nations, at least before the alien system was established) are subject to no such inconvenience.

The law indeed provides for the removal back of such to their own country; not however until they are proved to have committed a direct act of vagrancy; but while such acts remain without proof, no magistrate or parish officer can interfere, because they have no parish in England or Wales, to which they can be removed. His Majesty's English and Welsh subjects, in this point of view, have been denied privileges which are conceded to strangers, who may live where they please.

This evil, however, was removed in a certain degree, first by the act of the 33 of His present Majesty, cap. 54, as far as related to friendly societies, and afterwards generally by the act of the 36 of the same reign, by which the power of removing any person to his parish cannot take effect until he actually becomes chargeable. A working man may now go where he pleases with his family, and exert his labour where it may be most advantageous to him, as long as he can avoid asking parish relief; but if, from sickness, accident, or any affliction, depriving him, even for a short period, of the power of supporting his family, he is compelled to solicit aid from the parish, he is from that moment in a situation to be legally removed.

Great as this improvement is, on the law of settlements, and much as it is to be lamented that the measure was not sooner adopted, before the ruinous effects of former laws had debased the human character, in vulgar life; yet still the wound may be inflicted at a moment when the individual is least able to resist it. If distress assails him—if sickness or losses oppress him, so as to render a temporary relief necessary, he must either starve, or be subject to the additional calamity of being removed, as soon as his health will permit, to a parish where perhaps no means of support are to be found. The apparent cautions manifested upon subjects of legislation, often, when reduced

to practice, are found to defeat the objects in contemplation. Here, indeed, the pauper cannot be removed until his recovery from sickness, and the expense incurred during this interval is to be refunded by the parish where he is legally settled; but in order to recover this expense the object of it must be *actually removed*, although sufficiently recovered to resume his labour, and when so removed he must never again return to the parish where he was in a situation to gain a subsistence, on pain of being treated as a rogue and vagabond.

Thus is the individual punished and the country deprived of his labour, where it was most wanted, and could be rendered the most productive:—for what cause? merely because *debility and distress came upon him for a time*, requiring temporary relief, which, however, by the act could not be recovered from his own parish, until the additional expense was incurred of removing him as a pauper. Surely this never could have been the intention of the legislature. After the individual ceased to be chargeable, the money advanced as a temporary relief, could have been recovered without making it a necessary condition that he should be actually removed. This act, while it extends a privilege to the labouring people during health, imposes the greatest of hardships upon them in the event of sickness requiring temporary relief.

It is sincerely to be hoped that an enlightened legislature will, ere long, investigate this system of settlements, and consider it accurately in all its bearings, with a view to such improvements in the management of paupers, as will annihilate the excessive mischiefs which it has generated.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Review of the Causes which led to the general Adoption of Parish Workhouses, as a Means of removing the Evils produced by the Laws of Settlement and Removal.--Workhouses first authorized in the Metropolis, by the Act of the 13 *and* 14 *Charles II.—Extended to the Country and rendered general by the Statute* 9 *George I.—The Provisions of this Act briefly detailed.—Amended afterwards by* 30 *and* 36 *George III.—These Amendments rendered nugatory by the Intricacy of their Machinery.—The Workhouse System at first operated favourably, but it was of short Duration.—Private Acts, applicable to local Circumstances, were obtained by Parishes.—Excessive Misery and Wretchedness to be found in Country Workhouses on a small Scale.—The Expectations formed of a Saving from productive Labour in these national Establishments, have ultimately failed.—A severe Punishment to virtuous Indigence, and an Encouragement to the vicious and depraved.—The Number of Paupers in and out of Workhouses detailed.—Number of Parishes who farm the Poor and have obtained local Acts.—The Number of Workhouses, and the Accommodation they afford.—The Amount of Earnings, and Ex-*

penses of raw Materials.—The Expense of each Pauper, in and out of Workhouses.—Asylums, Houses of Refuge, and Workhouses, necessary in large Towns.—An improved Plan suggested and explained.—Agricultural Labourers should be encouraged to adhere to rural Occupations, and discouraged from settling in Towns.—Reflections on the Importance of increasing the agricultural Labour of the Country, and of holding out Encouragement, by lodging the Indigent, in Country Parishes, in Cottages instead of Workhouses.

In the warfare between parishes respecting the settlement of paupers, the original systems, established by the 39 and 43 of Elizabeth, with all the beneficial provisions of that act, appear to have been in a great measure suspended. No raw materials were provided in any degree adequate to the object of enabling the labouring people, otherwise destitute of work, to assist themselves. Not only labour but subsistence was in many instances denied to actual parishioners, while intruders were expelled without mercy. Every exertion was used to prevent one parish from forcing paupers on another, by disputing the legality of the removals inch by inch. Equal pains were bestowed to prevent settlements from being gained. Yet, notwithstanding all this zeal and attention, the parish lists swelled and the rates continued to increase. Money, instead of work, had now been

given to those who were considered fit objects to be placed on the parish lists. Impositions were, however, in process of time, supposed to be practised, and relief distributed where the claims were ill-founded. The applicants had become *indolent*, *idle*, *inactive*, and *profligate*. Their importunities were *frequent*, *teasing*, and *unbearable*; every artifice was used to impose on credulity and to elude vigilance.

These impressions filled the minds of men who either managed the affairs of the poor, or turned their attention to the subject in the early part of the last century. A remedy was therefore to be found for such an excessive and growing evil. It was suggested that no means existed of obliging paupers to work, and it was urged that such a compelling power would deter them from asking relief, and force them to acquire habits of industry, or submit to the hardship of working under task-masters. By such means it was expected that the indolent principle would be expelled, and industry, stimulated by necessity, brought into action, thereby reducing the parochial rates, heretofore squandered in supporting the dissolute and the idle who were unwilling to work for themselves. This remedy was at length supposed to be found in the expedient of *parish workhouses*.

The act of the 13 and 14 Charles II. (so frequently mentioned) first authorized the establishment of *corporation workhouses*, with compulsive

powers for enforcing the labour of all persons committed to them; but these were confined to the weekly bills of mortality only; and they were thought to be necessary at that time in consequence of the great influx of people constantly flocking to the metropolis, and the extreme difficulty, originating in this cause, of carrying completely into effect *the law of settlements and removals*. The antidote to the existing evil was then sought for in *workhouses in the metropolis*, and in *removals in the country*.

The continuance, however, of the latter expedient, notwithstanding all its terrors, and the rigid and severe manner in which it was carried into execution, only debased the minds of the labouring people, and increased the general profligacy of manners, as has been already seen, while the number of paupers continued rapidly to increase. At length, by the act of the 9 of George I. cap. 7, the scheme of *parish workhouses* was every where authorized as *a general measure*.

This act authorizes the churchwardens and overseers, with the consent of the vestry, to purchase any house or houses in the parish, and to contract for the lodging, keeping, maintaining, and employing all or such poor as shall desire to receive relief or collections; and there to keep, maintain, and employ them, and to take the benefit of their labour, for the better maintenance and relief of such persons; and if any such poor shall refuse to

be so lodged, kept, or maintained, they shall not be entitled to ask or receive any other relief. Where the parishes are small, several are authorized to unite in providing one house for their own poor.

The spirit of this act can be considered in no other light than that of a continuance of the system of hostility, at least to virtuous indigence, which is so strongly depicted in the laws of settlement and removal. All who dared to apply for relief were to be placed in a workhouse; to be set to work under the control of a contractor, whose profit was entirely to arise from the degree of labour he could force them to perform, and the limited portion of food upon which he could enable them to subsist.

This act is the general law of the country at this day, although since in some degree softened in its operation, first by the 30 of George III. cap. 49, which authorizes any justice of the peace, or any physician, surgeon, apothecary, or officiating clergyman of the place, by order of a justice, to visit and report to the session any mismanagement of these houses.

By another act, of the 36 of His present Majesty, cap. 23, the parish officers are enabled, with the consent of the vestry and the justices of the peace, in certain cases, to order relief without sending the applicants to contract workhouses, which before was entirely, and is still in all other respects, at the mere will of the parish officers,

who are at liberty to immure as many distressed objects as they think proper, in *contract workhouses*; and such is the inefficacy of this humane provision in the last-mentioned act, that relief in any other manner cannot be given to suffering humanity, without first calling the whole parish together, and obtaining their consent in vestry; and even the justice must have the cause explained upon oath before he can be authorized to order relief.

Various formalities are also annexed to these indulgences, which, while they shew great jealousy of abuse, render this part of the act, from its complicated machinery, in a great measure nugatory.

It should seem, however, that a temporary reduction of the parochial rates followed the first establishment of these workhouses. This circumstance, added to the sanguine expectations which were entertained at the time, that they would prove a salutary check to vice and idleness, and induce numbers, who had formerly solicited and received relief, to pursue a course of industry, rather than hazard being exposed to labour, at the will of a task-master, and to suffer a species of confinement, the nature of which was not greatly removed from that of a prison, rendered this new expedient popular in the country, and the scheme of workhouses was very generally adopted; while in various instances, particular parishes and

districts have obtained private acts, authorizing establishments of this nature, under diversified modes of government, applicable to local circumstances.

In those established in the country, there will be found at this time various gradations, exhibiting shades of perfection or relaxed discipline, according to the degree of talent, industry, and attention bestowed by those assigned to regulate their economy.

In many places, however, those on a small scale will be found to be abodes of misery, which defy all comparison in human wretchedness; and although many workhouses, on a larger scale, are better conducted, yet he who calmly investigates the effect which the system in general has produced in the course of the last eighty years, and compares it with the object which it was in the view of the legislature to attain, will have cause to deplore the result, since experience has shewn that the sanguine hopes entertained of the advantages of these establishments have been disappointed. They are no where, alas! houses of real industry and reform. The expectations formed of a saving of expense from productive labour have almost universally failed; and while the expenses rapidly increase with the rise in the price of provisions, the morals of the young are corrupted by the vices and evil example of the old, while the number of paupers rapidly increase.

To *innocent indigence* they are *gaols without guilt —punishment without crime*; while to culpable paupers they operate as a species of reward to vice and idleness; since here they find an asylum after a long course of depravity, and immoral, and often criminal conduct, has generated disease and deprived them of the means of existing any where else.

In addition to this, the restraints imposed by the 36 of the King have been rendered nugatory by the vast increase of paupers, since it appears by the returns made to Parliament in 1803, that out of 1,040,716 paupers * actually relieved, only 83,468 could be accommodated in the existing workhouses †. In this situation the alternative of a workhouse or labour could not in many instances be held out to the remaining 957,248 indigent persons who required relief, which appears therefore to have been administered chiefly in money, to the amount of 3,061,446*l.* 16*s.* 10½*d.* in one year! besides relief granted to 194,052, who were not parishioners.

* See page 37, 54, and 57.

† By the parliamentary returns, made in 1776, it appears, that there were then in England and Wales 1970 workhouses, capable of accommodating 89,775 paupers; the subsequent returns, in 1785 and 1803, do not mention the number of workhouses at these respective periods. It is probable, however, that there has been no material increase, as the last reports state only 83,468 paupers to be maintained in workhouses, although those existing in 1776 would accommodate 89,775.

But the state of workhouses, and the labour performed in and out of these establishments, in the year 1803, will be better understood by referring to the following facts, extracted from the parliamentary returns, made from 14,611 parishes and places in England and Wales. Out of this number it appears 293 parishes farm out their paupers to contractors: also that 774 parishes maintain their paupers under special acts of Parliament *: and that the remaining 13,544 parishes and places are regulated, with respect to paupers, by the act of the 43 of Elizabeth, and the subsequent statutes already noticed, for general purposes.

It has been already mentioned that the returns of 1803 do not specify the precise number of workhouses then in existence; and that, in 1776, the report to Parliament states the whole number in England and Wales to be 1970 different establishments. Probably they may have increased since that period, but it is evident it can be to no great extent, since the number maintained in those houses in 1803 (83,468) is less than the houses existing in 1776 were capable of accommodating, namely, 89,775.

* Of this number there have been obtained

for the county of Norfolk	215	
for the county of Suffolk	253	
for Middlesex	32	
for twenty-one other counties	259	
for Wales	15	
Total	774	local acts.

It therefore follows, after making a considerable allowance for fluctuations, that the major part of the paupers, to the extent of perhaps 900,000, were relieved out of workhouses, and that these receptacles embrace a very limited proportion of the whole.

The money earned in workhouses, in 1803, is stated	£71,079	Cost of raw materials	£39,925
Idem, out of workhouses, idem	22,254	Idem - -	7,598
	£93,333		* £47,523

Those who conceived it practicable to maintain all the paupers in the kingdom in workhouses, probably did not reflect that the aggregate number is more than equal to the whole population of the metropolis, and that the expense of such establishments would exceed all bounds of calculation. It has been already seen (page 57), that 957,248 paupers, relieved in 1803, out of workhouses, cost 3*l.* 3*s.* 7¼*d.* a head; whereas the 83,468 supported wholly in these establishments, amounted to 12*l.* 3*s.* 6¾*d.* a head—a strong proof of the advantages of permitting paupers to find habitations for themselves, and of the impracticability of forcing labour from paupers through the medium of workhouses. In the metropolis, however, and other populous cities, the system of workhouses could not be safely abandoned, since numerous cases daily occur where miserable objects must

* See page 54.

absolutely perish in the streets, if such asylums were not open for their reception. These, however, would require to be new-modelled, in order to prevent the mischiefs generated by the admixture of the virtuous and vicious, the innocent and culpable, in the same common receptacle.

The facts disclosed by the parliamentary returns appear to prove the inexpediency and injurious tendency of workhouses in the country, while experience has shewn, that unless three distinct classes can be established, where large bodies of people are congregated together; namely, an asylum for the infant poor, houses of refuge for the virtuous, aged, and infirm; and a workhouse for the vicious and depraved classes, with a species of discipline and economy applicable to each; the evils must increase, and workhouses in general must continue to be schools of vice, as they have heretofore been.

In the *first*, religious and moral instruction should be mingled with the first rudiments of industry. In the *second*, medical assistance and comfort to those who have wasted their strength in rendering the resources of the country productive; and in the *third*, a system of labour suited to the different classes of friendless and abandoned adults, of both sexes, whose idle habits, or loss of character, have deprived them of the means of subsistence.

It is only in situations where multitudes of

people are congregated together that vice and idleness are generated; and here the attention ought to be chiefly fixed, for the purpose of providing an antidote. This antidote will be found by promoting constant habits of industry, among those whose moral turpitude and mischievous pursuits have rendered them the objects of restraint and coercion; nor should they be again restored to society until that degree of renovation is manifested, which may hold out a rational prospect of their becoming useful members of the community. With this view every aid should be afforded, which may render their second introduction into life advantageous, by previously securing for them a certain mean of employment. These workhouses should be open to all females desiring to abandon a life of prostitution, under a separate department, applicable to the object of reform; while those who were found guilty of vagrancy and minor offences should be compelled to inhabit them, and submit to their discipline.

Workhouses, in order to be really useful, should be established upon principles very different from those which exist at present. They ought in fact to be rendered competent to maintain by labour those who inhabit them. There is nothing in the experiments which have been heretofore made, which proves in any respect the impracticability of such a result, since these experiments have taken

place under arrangements which tended to defeat their object.

1. It is of importance, by means of a more correct design for the prevention of vice and idleness, to check the propensity among the labouring classes in agriculture, excited by the erroneous system of removals already alluded to, to wander from their peaceful homes and native villages, to seek to better their condition and increase their comforts, by the tempting lures of manufactures, or the delusive luxuries of large towns. Encouragements on the one hand to remain at home, by timely props, and the abolition of arbitrary and injurious restrictions, and insulting and disgusting austerity; and checks on the other, by an effectual system of coercion, for the purpose of restraining vice and idleness, will form an essential feature in those remedies which may be necessary to renovate the pauper system.

2. Subsistence is the true and only standard of population, while agriculture is obviously the only genuine source of support. Rural population is manifestly the legitimate parent of agriculture; and hence it is that the cultivation of the soil and rural population have a mutual dependence on each other, while all other classes of society depend on both. Agriculture, therefore, is the first object of national arrangement.

The advantages resulting from manufactures, commerce, arts, and sciences, are unquestionably

highly beneficial even to agriculture itself; but these benefits are too dearly purchased when obtained at the expense of the agricultural population.

The annual deficiency of the productions of the soil, in affording food for man, and to provide for the accumulated consumption of horses, generated by the increased luxury of the country, and the necessity of filling up the chasms by large importations of grain, even in the most abundant years, strongly point out the necessity of increasing local residence, with respect to agricultural labourers, since in this great channel of productive industry ample resources still remain, in cultivating extensive tracts of land, inviting the hand of the husbandman. While, therefore, *public asylums*, *houses of refuge*, and *workhouses*, are provided for innocent and culpable indigence in towns; cottages and gardens are equally necessary in the villages, to encourage and prop up the industrious agricultural poor, and to prevent them from descending into indigence, or from wandering abroad in search of an uncertain subsistence, where they can be less useful, and where the hazard of corrupting their morals is so imminent.

CHAPTER IX.

A brief View of the Manners and Habits of the labouring People in England.—Degraded from Infancy, from the Effects produced by the Pauper System, and an Education devoid of religious and moral Instruction.—The profligate Habits and Indigence of so large a Proportion of the Population traced to this Source.—The Effects of this erroneous Principle upon the Minds of the inferior Classes, shewn to be injurious, since in them exist the first Elements of national Power and Riches.—Necessity one of the chief Nurseries of Vice and Depravity.—Indigence and Debasement of Character lead to criminal Offences.—In the Metropolis, and in large Towns, a great Proportion of the labouring Classes are improvident and dissolute, working only a Part of the Week, and dissipating the high Wages they obtain in Alehouses; living in Misery where the Power exists of supporting their Families in Comfort.—Among those Classes whose Labour is less productive, the Alehouse swallows up a large Proportion of their Earnings.—This State of Profligacy extends also to the female Poor.—Sixteen Millions Sterling are supposed to be expended yearly, in forty thousand Alehouses, by about

two Millions of the labouring People.—The Checks established by the Legislature to counteract this evil Propensity have been totally ineffectual. —Three Fourths of the Paupers who received Relief in 1803, *have been reduced to Indigence by intemperate Habits, and the Expenses incurred in Towns by resorting to the Pawnbroker for temporary Supplies of Money.—The singular Effect of pawning one Article to redeem another, every Day in the Year.—By this Operation* 3000 *per Cent. is paid for the Use of the Money lent to the Poor.—Pawnbrokers' Shops have increased of late Years in the Country, indicating an unfavourable Change in the Manners of the People. —The inferior Classes supposed to pay one Million annually for small Loans of Money.— Insurance in the Lottery a great Cause of Indigence in the Metropolis.—The agricultural Poor less depraved than those who reside in large Towns.—Their Propensity to quit their rural Occupations a singular Misfortune, since it adds to the general Corruption of Morals.—The Cause of the great Extent of Indigence to be traced to the Profligacy of Character, generated by the Pauper System, and evil Habits arising from this Source.—Observations and Reflections on the Errors of the Pauper System.—Suggestions offered with a View to the Removal of the Evil. ——These Evils exemplified in the Existence of Parishes heavily burdened, and particularly*

Spitalfields, where the Poor literally support the Indigent.—General Observations on the Errors of the present System, and on the Means of improving it.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, briefly stated the various circumstances which appear to have operated in producing a large portion of that extreme indigence which at present afflicts society; it may not be inapplicable to the purposes of this work to take a short view of the manners and habits of the labouring classes of the people in England and Wales, since through this medium considerable aid may be derived in discovering how far the causes assigned have produced those effects so hostile to a state of independent poverty, which are every where visible, particularly in large and populous towns.

That in a country so prolific with respect to sources of human industry, there should exist a state of things such as has been disclosed in the course of this work, is a paradox as singular, from the effects it has produced, as it is contrary to the results which might naturally have been expected.

The human character in vulgar life is greatly influenced by early habits. Whatever tends to debase the labouring people in their own eyes, generally operates injuriously, with respect to the interest of the community. Where it has happened to be the lot of children to be bandied about with

their parents from parish to parish, or to experience those pressures which call for relief, the infant mind unavoidably acquires a bias hostile to every useful purpose in life. If they are suffered to grow up under these impressions, without being conducted, through the medium of religious and moral instruction, to the proper path of industry, it ceases to be a matter of wonder that a vast proportion of a population, so reared, should become profligate and indigent.

Individuals thus brought to maturity, with minds completely unenlightened by education, have no means of judging for themselves, or of assisting and improving those lights which the ordinary impulses of nature and reason afford them. They are therefore easily susceptible of impressions from exterior and often imperceptible causes; and hence they are guided towards good or evil pursuits, according to the circumstances in which they may happen to be placed.

While the nerve of industry, the hope of comfort, and the pride of independence constitute the great master-spring of human action, these feelings seldom warm their bosoms, or stimulate their progress in useful pursuits; and yet (as has already been stated), in the labouring ranks indisputably exist *the first elements of national power and riches*. Science may embellish society; capital combined with skill may invigorate the sources of human industry; but without the labour of the hands no-

thing useful or profitable can be attained. In *labour* genius and science find their active principle, while, from the improvements in useful knowledge, and in the strength of capital, labour receives its invigorating spring and its fostering protection. To contaminate, therefore, the sources of labour, to permit the poisonous admixture of debility and debasement to enter into it, to spurn it with contempt and disgust from our thresholds, is in fact to destroy the first native seeds, the great and essential spring from whence all our comforts, and all our affluence, power, and prosperity arise.

In the general system, which has too long prevailed, as it has operated on a vast proportion of the labouring classes, we trace much of that principle which has left industry uncherished, and produced those results in their nature, so mischievous to the best interests of society.

Necessity, in vulgar life, is known to be one of the chief incitements to vice and depravity. From a state of indigence, wretchedness, and despair, the transition is easy to criminal offences.

From the degrading, the injurious influence of a state of debasement, generating a corruption of morals, spreading in every direction, how can it be expected that the inferior ranks of society can be *regular*, *sober*, *frugal*, or *industrious*?

In the metropolis, and in all the cities and towns where the population is extensive, it is

greatly to be lamented that a large proportion of the working classes are improvident, careless, unthinking, and dissolute in their manners. Many of those whose skill and ingenuity in mechanical employments would soon raise them to a state of independence, from the high wages they obtain, frequently spend a large portion of their time, corrupting their minds and enfeebling their bodies, in alehouses, trusting to the earnings of three or four days of the week, not only as a source of maintenance to their families, but as a fund sufficient to defray the still greater expense incurred at the alehouse. Instead of enjoying those comforts which are completely within their reach, their children often remain ragged and uneducated, and misery and wretchedness are frequently seen in their dwellings.

Among the classes whose labour is less productive, requiring a more constant and uninterrupted attention, it is a melancholy truth, that, with very few exceptions, the alehouse swallows up a large proportion of the annual earnings—earnings which might produce comfort where wretchedness only is to be found; and which, in case of sickness or accident, reduces the families to a state of want, requiring parochial relief. Nor are these evil habits confined to the male labourers. It is to be lamented, that the females are not seldom parties in the waste and depravity which produce so large a portion of culpable indigence.

Looking at the average sales necessary to support licensed public houses, it may be fairly estimated, that in 40,000 common alehouses (exclusive of houses of a higher description) *sixteen millions sterling* are expended by about two millions of labouring people, in various proportions, from perhaps £4 to £12, and averaging £8 a year each! A revenue to a considerable amount is no doubt obtained through this medium, but it is a revenue dearly purchased by the state. The checks which the legislature has wisely introduced from time to time, to counteract this evil propensity, this debilitating principle, generating disease, enervating the corporeal powers, and ultimately producing indigence, have been found totally ineffectual; since the evil visibly increases, and is moreover clearly manifested by the augmented consumption of beer and spirits, notwithstanding the great advance in the price in late years—an advance, under all circumstances, politically wise. Hence it is that the class whose indigence arises from culpable causes are so extremely numerous, comprising perhaps (including females) three fourth parts of the adult population of the 1,040,716 paupers who received parochial relief in 1803.

From causes originating in primeval debasement of character, generated by the parochial interference as to settlements and removals, and the dependence which the individuals are taught from infancy to place on a right to be supported by their

parishes, is to be traced that degradation of character, which, unfortunately for the country, forms so striking a feature in the manners of the labouring classes.

In the metropolis, and in all large towns, the poor are subject to another excessive burden upon their little incomes, originating chiefly in their improvidence and total want of frugal habits or forethought, which compel great numbers to resort on every occasion to the pawnbroker's shop, when want, or even the gratification of any propensity, renders the accession of a small sum of money necessary, which is not seldom laid out at the same moment in gin, or some expensive food, or other gratification, which might have been dispensed with. In other instances, useful articles are pledged to procure the absolute necessaries of life. So rooted is this habit of trusting to the pawnbroker's shop for assistance, while an article of furniture or a rag remains, upon which money can be raised, that a dependence on this resource often deadens the stimulus to forethought, producing previous exertion; yet in so great a degree has it become a habit, that if these modes of raising money were not accessible, or were suddenly taken away, thousands would unavoidably perish in the streets. The distress, on some occasions, is so great as to compel the miserable objects to pawn the blanket in the morning to take out the coat, gown, or petticoat, and again in the evening to pawn the day garment

to relieve the blanket, to cover them in the night; where the money lent (which is frequently the case) does not exceed a shilling: and supposing this operation to continue a whole year, the interest paid for the loan would amount to 3000 per cent.! It is by frequent fluctuations within the month, and by pawning one article to relieve another, where a small sum is obtained, that the premium for money becomes so excessive. There are about two hundred and forty licensed pawnbrokers in the metropolis, and nearly four hundred and fifty in the country towns and villages. Their progressive increase, particularly in the country, strongly indicates an unfavourable change in the manners and habits of the working classes, since almost every year adds to the number of these shops. The capital employed is supposed upon good grounds somewhat to exceed a million sterling, and this capital is presumed to be turned round thrice in the course of a year, and to yield each time about 33⅓ per cent. on an average; according to which calculation, the inferior orders of society in England are supposed to pay about one million a year, for the use of temporary loans, including what they lose by their goods being forfeited. Such a state of things merits legislative inquiry, with a view to discover whether the necessary accommodation could not be afforded in a cheaper and better way, through the medium of public institutions, and whether through such a

medium unnecessary and injurious accommodations might not be withheld. Insurances in the lottery constitute another cause of indigence, which has produced at different times great misery and wretchedness; but it is confined wholly to the metropolis and the surrounding villages.

The agricultural poor are doubtless much less contaminated; but the propensity to flock to large towns, and the fascinating allurements which are presented, aided by the force of example and stimulated by the state of debasement in which they have been educated, speedily render them victims to the same corruption of morals, the existence of which is also strongly evinced by the vast number of the labouring classes who cohabit together without marriage, whose miserable offspring, from neglect, are rarely reared to maturity; and even in cases where, by strength of constitution, the infants arrive at an adult state, the vicious habits they acquire in their progress to manhood generally render them unfit for any useful purpose in society.

It is thus seen, that it is in the character of the labouring people that the cause of the great and unexampled extent of indigence is to be found. It has been disclosed through what medium this character of debasement has been acquired; and also the corruption of morals, which has, as a natural consequence, flowed from this source, this erroneous application of a principle, which was in itself

national, to a practice confined within the narrow bounds of parochial economy.

Thus reared to an adult state, thus neglected, with regard to religious and moral instruction in early life—thus permitted to contract improvident, vicious, and bad habits, it would be uncharitable to impute blame to those victims to an erroneous system of civil polity.

It is in vain to look back, unless with a view to develope the cause of the existing gangrene. If it has really been discovered, let the errors which have been thus traced to their source be corrected. If the evidence and the reasoning upon this important question shall admit of the inferences attempted to be drawn from them, little doubt can exist as to the course which ought to be pursued. No hesitation can arise in establishing the means for giving to the just principle an effectual operation, by considering the nation, what it really is,—a large family.

The national principle established for the maintenance or relief of paupers, was originally lost sight of, in local or parochial provision. The principle was *national*, the practice was *parochial*. Limiting the burden to a mere parochial fund, laid the foundation of all the evils which have followed. Hence the intricacy of the machinery introduced; hence the bewildering code of laws which grew out of the system; hence, as has already been seen, the warfare between parish and parish, and the excessive

waste of time and public money on vexatious litigations, which, for nearly two centuries, have dissipated the funds destined for the indigent and distressed, in attempting to attain an object, which, when accomplished, only tended to shew the error in the principle, while it debased the minds of the unhappy sufferers, without adding an atom to the resources of the state; on the contrary, it has tended in every instance to reduce and diminish these resources.

National protection (for this was the principle at the outset) is not confined to locality, nor is it possible to conceive how paupers can receive a better or cheaper subsistence by transporting them from twenty to two hundred miles, at a great expense. Here lies the root of the evil. Radical defects may be removed, but never admit of improvement. If the foundation be rotten, the superstructure raised upon it can never be safe or useful. It has already been shewn how many laws have passed to amend and improve the original design, without success; on the contrary, making what was originally false in principle worse and worse.

Let the fund be national, and parish settlements, removals, appeals, certificates, and all the miserable train of endless litigation, of questions of no earthly importance to the nation or to individuals, will vanish. The poor man's liberty will then cease to be abridged; labour, so necessary in an

agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing country, will have free scope, and will find its true level. His Majesty is entitled to the allegiance of all his subjects, as members of the state; and are they, on account of the calamity of indigence, or threatened indigence, to be imprisoned within a particular parish? Their country should be their settlement, and the legislature their guardians.

It is impossible to foresee where any difficulty could arise from this measure, which might not be surmounted, since it has been discovered, through the medium of the Tax-office*, that an unequal rate of 2*s.* 10*d.* in the pound, upon all the real estates in the country, including mines, minerals, canals, &c. assessible for the poor, would produce the enormous sum required for this purpose in 1803. No individual, it is to be hoped, would complain of so moderate an assessment, especially where the effect of this and other arrangements, now proposed, would probably be to reduce it to half this amount. Among the first of these reductions would be nearly £200,000 a year for law and other expenses. The number of indigent would unquestionably diminish. The poor man would then feel that he had a home to fight for (from which he could not be removed), and a country to defend. In those parishes where there are no inhabitants of property, and where the poor

* See page 18, 58, 59, and 60.

are literally compelled to support the indigent, at a moment when they themselves are ready to drop into that degraded state, an equal distribution of the national aid will be afforded †; while in those districts and parishes where the rates have advanced from 20*s*. to 40*s*. in the pound, the innocent freeholder will not run the hazard of having his inheritance, which perhaps has descended from father to son for many generations, wrested from him by the local operation of a system *, which will be

† In the two parishes of Christchurch and Bethnal Green, and in the hamlet of Mile End New Town, in the county of Middlesex, comprehending what is usually called *Spitalfields*, the poor are assessed to afford a scanty and inadequate relief to the indigent; since the rich, who are their employers, and who benefit by their labour, are not resident parishioners. Nothing can more strongly mark the radical error of local settlements than the state of these unfortunate parishes. The opulent manufacturers and others, for whom the poor exhaust their strength by laborious occupations, reside within the limits of the city of London, where the labouring people do not dwell, because they can find no cheap habitations. The rich, therefore, who are said to enjoy the benefit of their labour, in the proportion of about four fifths of the whole, are not compelled, and cannot, from non-residence, be compelled to contribute to the relief of those who drop into indigence; and as it is impossible to wring from the resident inhabitants a sufficient sum to relieve the settled paupers, they have long been, and still are in a most deplorable state of misery and wretchedness, without any hopes of a remedy while the present system continues, since experience has shewn that the provisions in the 43 of Elizabeth, authorizing adjoining parishes to be assessed under such circumstances, cannot be rendered effectual.

* See page 18, 58, and 59.

found (when the original principle is fully understood) to be contrary to justice and sound policy.

It is only necessary to consider the nation as *one family*, or as *one parish*, and to apply the general fund wherever it is most wanted. The poor, thus emancipated, would naturally resort to those districts where labour was most abundant, and where it was likely to be permanent. By losing sight of particular parishes as *their freeholds*, they would trust less to this ultimate resource and more to their own exertions. The other measures recommended would tend much to improve their general character. Those to whom it might be assigned to superintend the general system, thus *simplified* and divested of its complicated machinery, would be enabled to proceed with greater energy and effect in accomplishing the great objects *of finding employment for those able to work*, and *in providing asylums for the young*, and *houses of refuge for the aged and infirm*. Within this narrow circle their whole duties would be confined. No new expenses for buildings would be necessary. The existing workhouses are amply sufficient for the infants on one hand, and the aged and infirm on the other; and perhaps some might be rendered applicable to mechanical employments for male paupers, and to penitentiary houses for unhappy prostitutes, where labour might be performed, suitable to their strength and applicable to their sex and condition. The true line of conduct to be pursued can only

be ascertained by a full consideration of all circumstances as they arise, and by adopting such rules as may thence obviously appear to be proper, unfettered, as much as possible, by the trammels of legislative machinery, and by ultimately determining no longer to confound a great national principle with a practice, in itself erroneous, by confining its operation to *local* and *parochial distinctions*.

Thus, if the mistaken policy of the 13 and 14 of Charles II. and the laws afterwards engrafted upon it, should be found in any considerable degree to have led to the corruption and debasement in the habits and characters of the persons on whom they acted, producing that accumulation of indigence, wretchedness, and misery, which has at length risen to such an alarming height: if such be the genuine source of the various disorders connected with this subject, little doubt remains as to the true principle which should dictate the remedy. It must however be admitted, that when particular habits, and the prejudices arising out of them, have been long seated in the constitution of the country, they become so rooted and established, that it is difficult in the first instance to eradicate them. A direct attempt, therefore, to change at once the long-established system of the poor laws, although conceived to be practicable, is not recommended as a measure to be instantly adopted.

Considerations of such vast importance ought previously to occupy the attention of a public responsible board, whose inquiries and suggestions might lead gradually to the object in view, which has been shewn not to depend merely on the manner of giving relief to indigent infants, and infirm and aged paupers, and setting others to work; but upon various collateral aids, which, operating together, shall promote *industry*, *frugality*, *health*, *comfort*, *virtue*, and *happiness* among the labouring people; while in their operation they gradually reduce the mass of indigence and turpitude, which at present afflicts society.

In the various schemes hitherto proposed for improving the pauper system, two fundamental errors seem to have uniformly existed:

1. That of looking at the *indigent themselves*, their *immediate condition*, and the poor laws, as connected with them.

2. That of attempting to lay down fixed rules, by which *relief*, *assistance*, or *employment*, was to be afforded.

The error, in the first instance, seems to have arisen from an inattention to a variety of collateral and secondary circumstances and considerations, with which the subject was most essentially, though perhaps not very obviously, connected.

In the second, the utter impracticability of prescribing rules applicable to all cases, and to local

circumstances; which although useful in one district might be injurious in another.

In the great diversity of habits and characters among mankind, it seems utterly impossible to establish fixed and detailed rules, applicable to a pauper system, or suitable to every particular case, while it is equally beyond the reach of the powers of the human mind to follow all these distinctions, by anticipation, into their numerous diversities, and apply a proper rule to each.

CHAPTER X.

Summary View of collateral Remedies susceptible of immediate Adoption, without interfering with the existing Pauper System.—First, *The Establishment of a Board of general and internal Police.*—Second, *An improved System of Friendly Societies.*—Third, *A Board of Education for the Superintendence of the Children of the Poor, under a national System.*—Fourth, *An improved System respecting Apprentices.*—*Explanatory Observations under each Head.*—*General Reflections on the Utility of the Measures suggested.*—*The extraordinary Æra in which we live, urged as an additional Reason for their Adoption.*—Fifth, *General Observations on the Law of Settlements, as reviewed in the Seventh Chapter.*—*The Origin of the Evil arose from a national System being subject to local Interference and parochial Practice.*—*The Evil of this System, in reducing the Value of real Estates in different Parishes and Counties, exemplified by a general View of the Proportion of Paupers, extending from one fifteenth to one fourth Part of the Population, in different Districts; also of the Amount of the Assessments, the average Rates, and the Expense of relieving Paupers in and out*

of Workhouses in each County.—General Reflections arising out of these Facts.—Sixth, *Brief Observations on the general Review of the System of Workhouses, as examined in the Eighth Chapter.—The Difficulties opposed to those Establishments from the Fluctuations generated by the Law of Settlements.—Originally ill-concerted.—Unnecessary in the Country, although indispensable in large Communities.—Explanatory Observations on the Review of the Manners and Habits of the labouring People, as considered in the Ninth Chapter.—A comparative View, comprising the Population, Offenders, and Paupers, in each County.—General Reflections arising from the Facts thus disclosed.—The Conclusion.*

I.

A Board of general and internal Police *.

In taking a general view of the collateral improvements which may be safely adopted in the first instance, and which have been suggested in the

* In various parts of the country, where shipwreck and smuggling prevail to a considereble extent, particularly on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, &c. the executive power is paralyzed, and the magistrates are frequently afraid to act, from the danger attached to their situation. In those and other districts, the receivers of stores unlawfully obtained are frequently men of some opulence, whose influence in elections is considerable, and who are thus enabled frequently to screen themselves, and the parties originally concerned in the depredations. A board of police, open to no influence, would cure the evil

course of this work, as necessary to precede any alteration in the pauper system, the first in order is *the board of general and internal police*, as explained in the third chapter.—By the adoption of this measure a foundation would be laid, not only for the future improvement of the pauper system, but also for the prevention of vagrancy and criminal offences *, the latter closely connected with a state of indigence.

The functions of this board are of a nature calculated in an eminent degree to correct many evils in society, which were disclosed to the public about nine years ago; and it has been already seen that this measure was strongly recommended by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Finance, in the year 1798. It is indeed painful to the author to have occasion to observe, after eight years experience, and a close attention to the state of morals in vulgar life, as well as the progress of criminal offences, that although the shades may differ, he is

by effectual measures of prevention; while magistrates, encouraged and assisted by their countenance and protection, would act with more energy and effect, after offences were actually committed, in bringing the culprits to justice. It is impossible to form any accurate conception of the diversified benefits to the public, which would spring from such a *centre of action*. It would in a great measure remove all the difficulties which are experienced in the execution of the laws, in various parts of the country. It would embrace every thing tending to the public security.

* See page 79 to 109.

unable upon the whole to discover any amendment, or to retract a single opinion, as to the extent of the criminality, or the remedies proposed for improving the system, at the time these disclosures were made *: on the contrary, he is more than ever convinced, from longer experience, and much reflection on the subject, that without the application of these remedies, moral and criminal offences can never be materially diminished †.

From the adoption of the measure of a Police Gazette ‡, ably conducted upon the plan suggested in this work, much good may be expected, since such a publication is eminently calculated to give a favourable turn to the minds and manners of the labouring people, in every part of the kingdom; while the collected view of the state of criminality, mendicity, and indigence, brought yearly under the review of Parliament, would, by an annual exhibition of the state of morals in the country, excite a disposition to apply remedies to every disorder, which tended to diminish the productive industry of the nation, or the security of the peaceful subject. A system of general police, so organized, while it gradually acquired energy and effect, must necessarily, from the proposed structure of the design, retain its vigour even to the latest posterity. The expense of conducting it would take nothing from the resources of the state,

* See Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, sixth edition, 1800.

† See page 94 to 106. ‡ See page 97 to 102.

while a confident hope is entertained, that in the extended ramifications of the general establishment, it would add considerably to these resources.

II.

Friendly Societies *.

The proposed plan of a *Deposit Bank for parochial societies*, as detailed in the fourth chapter, promises very favourable results, with respect to the improved manners, habits, and propensities of the labouring classes. It would unquestionably give a new and more provident character to menial servants, and thereby rescue many females from the walks of prostitution. The design is simple in its organization, and fascinating with respect to its results. Its complete success would probably prove a greater hedge against indigence, and a more powerful stimulus to general industry, than any system that could be devised for the improvement of the condition of the poor; and there is no reason to suppose that it would not be popular, when properly explained, and when fully sanctioned by an act of the legislature. It might be disclosed to all the parishes in the kingdom on the same day; and when a certain number entered their names, the chief part of the population would follow their good example. There appears to be a resource for members, chiefly comprising the labouring classes, perhaps nearly in the following proportions:

* See page 110 to 139.

	Males.	Females.
Household or menial servants - -	110,000	800,000
Inferior tradesmen and others - -	300,000	
Journeymen artisans, handicrafts, and mechanics - - - - - - - -	400,000	
Housekeepers following the above employments - - - - - - - -	445,000	
Heads of families in agricultural labour	340,000	
Members of families in ditto - -	300,000	
Heads of families labouring in mines, minerals, canals, &c. - - -	40,000	
Members of families in ditto - -	20,000	
Heads of families employed in miscellaneous labour - - - - - - -	40,000	
Members of families in ditto - -	25,000	
Clerks, shopmen, and others, having small incomes - - - - - -	100,000	
Nautical labourers in fisheries and navigation - - - - - - - -	180,000	
Seamen and soldiers in His Majesty's service - - - - - - - - -	200,000	
Females employed in fabricating apparel, and engaged as journeywomen or otherwise, in various branches of manufactures, and domestic work, and others living with their parents - - -		500,000
Wives, widows, and others, having small incomes - - - - - - -	- - -	200,000
Males	2,500,000	1,500,000
Females	1,500,000	
Total -	4,000,000	

As the scheme would embrace all classes possessed of limited incomes, it is not improbable that, in the course of a few years, four millions of individuals would avail themselves of the benefits

which it holds out, from a firm conviction that whatever was promised would be realized. The system might also be extended to children, after being matured. When in full operation, it would disclose to the statesman and the public very interesting and important facts in political economy. Through this medium, a large capital might be diverted into useful purposes, calculated to invigorate labour and to increase the national income. The general design, in a state of maturity, would unquestionably very much reduce the number of paupers, while it tended in an eminent degree to establish provident habits generally among the labouring people.

It is by such means that a strong and almost impenetrable barrier is to be established against *indigence in the vigour of life*, that destructive gangrene in society. It is thus that the poor are to be rendered happy and contented with their lot; and it is by such institutions only that they can be effectually convinced that they have a stake in their country's welfare, and that it is their duty and interest to defend it *.

* Of the friendly societies already established, the manufacturing counties have by far the greater number, in proportion to their population; a circumstance which suggests to the mind many strong reasons why these institutions should be differently organized.—Thus, according to the returns in 1803:

In Lancaster the members amount to	104,776	York, West Riding	59,558
Middlesex only	72,741	Stafford	32,852
		Devonshire	31,792

III.

Public Education of the Children of the Poor *.

It has been already shewn, that various remedies are necessary for the purpose of giving a right bias —a proper tone to the minds of the labouring people. And it has been seen also, in the preceding chapters, how much the vulgar mind has been debased by the system of settlements and removals; and also how wide a field the pauper institution embraced, comprehending numbers receiving relief in one year, equal to the whole

Derbyshire	22,681	York, North Riding	9,719
Somersetshire	19,848	Hertford	8,622
Gloucestershire	19,606	Northampton	8,062
Salop	19,144	Cumberland	7,788
Surry	19,199	Lincoln	7,530
Warwick	17,000	Oxford	5,010
Cornwall	16,736	Southampton	4,738
Nottingham	15,202	Bucks	4,079
Essex	14,890	Sussex	4,418
Chester	14,828	Dorset	3,795
Norfolk	14,821	Cambridge	3,173
Worcester	12,845	Monmouth	3,799
Kent	12,683	Berks	2,843
Durham	11,566	Bedford	2,730
Northumberland	11,606	Hereford	2,811
Suffolk	11,448	Westmorland	2,435
Wiltshire	11,330	Huntingdon	1,740
York, East Riding	11,248	Rutland	1,704
Leicester	10,889	Wales	30,130
		Total	704,350

* See page 139 to 159.

population of the metropolis and ten miles round it *!

The importance also of restoring the human character in vulgar life to that proper state of independent poverty, which shall excite a disposition to render labour productive, to husband well what that labour yields, and to establish barriers against a state of indigence requiring parochial relief, has been already sufficiently illustrated, while it has been shewn, at the same time, that the easiest and most certain mean of attaining this object is by a systematic attention to the education of the children of the poor, so organized by legislative assistance and appropriate regulations, as not only to secure the due and punctual execution of the design; but also that its energy shall remain permanent to the latest posterity.

In the fifth chapter a system is proposed with an immediate view to this object—to secure to the state those great and incalculable advantages which must result from an appropriate education, suited to the condition and the future pursuits of the children of the labouring people.

Although the suggestions offered in the third and fourth chapters, for the improvement of the morals and habits of the adults may not succeed to that extent which their own individual comfort and happiness, and the true interest of the country, render desirable; yet no doubt can be entertained of the effect

* See page 37, 38, 43, 54, and 57.

of a proper system of education on the minds of the infant poor; and it cannot fail to be a strong recommendation of this measure, that a national education in one division of the United Kingdom, has not only been long since in action, producing the most salutary effects, but that this system has been very recently recognised and improved by the British legislature. But the strong features of the measure are its obvious and great utility in England and Wales: its practicability without any material burden upon the country; the injury which the nation has sustained in the morals of the people from the want of such a system, and the impossibility of attaining the advantages which cannot fail to result from it, through any other medium than national institutions: indeed it is impossible to conceive a more sure medium, through which the productive industry, the wealth and prosperity of the country can be with greater certainty increased, or the burdens attached to the pauper system diminished, than by the establishment of parochial schools, for the religious and moral instruction of the rising generation in vulgar life.

IV.

Apprentices *.

The proper introduction into life of the children of the poor, by apprenticing them out to useful occupations in husbandry, mechanical, artisan,

* See page 157 to 178.

nautical, and other employments, is discussed in the sixth chapter of this treatise.

The records of Parliament shew that this has been considered as an object of great importance by the legislature, from a very early period; but systems of legislation, for the purpose of regulating internal police, will always be imperfectly executed where a superintending power, a centre point, does not exist, calculated to give life, vigour, and permanency to the general design.

However inapplicable this observation may be to legislative regulations in general, it is strictly true in all cases where the vital interest of the country is concerned; where an inattentive execution may produce the greatest evils; and in no instance is this so manifest as in the existing system relative to apprentices *.

The consolidation and improvement of the laws now in force, applicable to this branch of police, with other regulations which have been suggested; and above all the superintending influence of the proposed board of education, would do much towards the attainment of the great object in view. By securing a correct, energetic, and (what is

* It has recently been discovered, that great numbers of youths, in the metropolis, from nine to fifteen years of age, in gangs of from ten to fifty, desert their parents (who are in many instances vagrants themselves, and live entirely by petty thefts), sleeping in carts, waggons, and other places, in Covent Garden and the different markets where they can find shelter, living in filth, and roasting the meat and potatoes they steal in brick-fields.

still more important) a permanent and regular execution of the design; it could never retrograde, as has been the case with respect to the pauper system. A guardianship, so highly respectable, would lead the attention of many masters, having occasion for apprentices, to this source of supply, while the correct execution would establish checks against improper usage or inattention, with respect to instruction in the various trades and occupations in which such apprentices were to be employed.

The four objects of improvement, of which a summary view has been thus given, appear to be necessary to precede any change in the pauper system; namely, a superintending *board of general and pauper police—a deposit bank, for the purpose of giving more effectual aid and encouragement to friendly societies—a public education for the children of the poor—and an improved system respecting apprentices.*

These important measures of internal police, all bearing directly or collaterally on the pauper system, are likely, when working together, to operate very powerfully, not only in reducing the number of the indigent, but also in augmenting the productive labour of the country, for which it has been already seen there are abundant resources; and even those will probably be increased by the deplorable and extensive calamities which have long

afflicted, and still continue, with increased malignity, to distress the continent of Europe; to disorganize the general system of industry, to reduce the commercial and manufacturing capitals, and to produce a retrograde motion, wherever commerce and manufactures had taken root: and hence it follows, that, for many years to come, the chasms must be filled up by the surplus labour of Great Britain and Ireland, which will find its way to those whose interest it is to become purchasers, in spite of all the obstructions which colossal or arbitrary power can invent; since self-interest, the great stimulus to human actions, will ever be able to defeat every attempt on the part of a capricious and insidious government, to deny those accommodations which the people at large are desirous to possess.

The reasoning, therefore, of many intelligent writers, on the deficient resources for human labour and subsistence, can never apply to Great Britain, if frugality and industry could be made to assume the place of idleness and vicious habits among those useful classes comprising the labouring people.

The measures suggested to effect this object are neither utopian nor impracticable. They are not founded on visionary theories, either presenting insuperable difficulties in their execution, or doubtful advantages in their results; since such advantages must be obvious to the meanest understanding: and it is none of the least of the benefits attached to

these measures, that the structure of each design will secure not only a correct execution, but also a permanent and never-failing energy, such as prevails with respect to the execution of the revenue laws. It is impossible that any legislative regulation, applicable to these proposed establishments, can ever remain unexecuted, or become, like many upon the statute-books, *a dead letter*.

If these benefits are to be attained without any new burden, which is not in itself also *beneficial*, while the obvious gains to the nation must be very extensive;—where can be the objection to making the attempt?

It is not asserted, that, by these measures, either *criminal offences* or *indigence* are to be banished totally from civil society; since in the tumultuous and ill-regulated passions incident to human nature, these evils must continue, to a certain extent, to afflict the community; but it may fairly be assumed that both will be greatly lessened, while the stock of human comfort and happiness will in the same proportion be enlarged. It is not stated that difficulties will not be experienced in the execution of designs so ramified and extensive; but who will not encounter difficulties to obtain so great a national prize; such a sum of good to the community; such a removal of blemishes in the national police; such an increase of productive industry and comfort, and such a diminution of national misery?

The present period of *peril*, unexampled in the annals of the whole world, calls for exertions out of the common course, and for the execution of designs applicable to the exigencies of an æra as extraordinary as it is new. The object of inquiry is, whether they are *rational, practicable,* and *necessary?* whether advantages, far exceeding the labour and expense bestowed on them, are not likely to result from their adoption? If the public mind is so impressed, their execution should be immediate: if not, they should be abandoned; and better and more appropriate measures adopted in their stead: since it must be admitted on all hands, that efforts and rational experiments have become indispensably necessary, to arrest the rapid progress of one of the great evils which can exist in any country; namely, *one ninth part of a large community existing as paupers, vagabonds, and criminal offenders, at the expense of about one third of the remaining population.*

Settlements and Removals.

In reflecting on the causes which have produced this excessive evil, as traced to the law of settlements and removals, detailed in the seventh chapter, it cannot be sufficiently regretted that the act of the 43 Elizabeth, when it ultimately established *a national principle, as to the effect to be produced,* did not at the same time ground upon it

a national instead of *a parochial* practice. The object of the general design was the very essence of human wisdom. The framers of this law were convinced that indigence was inseparable from a state of civil society, and that suitable provisions should be made, applicable both to innocent and culpable paupers. It was also foreseen by these enlightened individuals, that nothing could be effected without pecuniary aid, and that such aid could never be obtained, to the extent required, through the medium of voluntary contributions; and hence they resorted to the measure of *legalized assessments*, which have continued until the present day. But the *national principle* was not followed up by *national assessments*. The advantages in contemplation were to apply generally all over the country; but *a local practice* was resorted to, which in its nature destroyed the general effect; and to this unintentional mistake, this want of accurate ideas, on subjects of political economy, at that early period, are to be attributed most of the evils which are attached to the pauper system. The *local* or *parochial practice*, thus built upon *a national or general system*, pre-supposed that every individual born or residing for a time in a parish, could find subsistence in that spot for himself and family; and if the affliction of indigence visited any person who had removed from it after the system was first established, in order to better his condition, the original parish alone could afford him shelter and

assistance. Why? Because the fund provided for that purpose was *parochial or local*, and not *general*. Had it been a general fund, raised upon the principle of the present assessed taxes, the excessive evils, already detailed, could never have happened. Those assigned to conduct the affairs of the indigent, wherever they were found, would have only had this object to occupy their attention. The warfare between parish and parish, consuming so much valuable time, and occasioning such an enormous expense, would never have existed. The poor man would have been at liberty to have sought a market for his labour where he could have obtained the best price, and his parish would have been *any where* and *every where*. He would have been set to work if able, or supported if infirm, in the parish or place where indigence first assailed him. While the superintendence in this case must have been local, the expense would have been national. He would have been relieved on the spot where his labour had been recently productive. His character would not have been degraded and debased, by an exposure to the public view of himself and family, removed in a pauper cart; nor would that strong and mischievous impression have been fixed in his mind (paralyzing all exertion), "*that he had a particular parish, which was obliged by law to maintain him and his children.*"

Another very extensive mischief arose out of *this parochial practice*, founded on *a national principle*, which has, in its operation, greatly af-

fected the property of individuals, in different districts of the country: and certainly it was not foreseen by the intelligent ministers of Queen Elizabeth, that, in process of time, the *parochial practice* might operate, as it certainly has done, in reducing the value of real estates *one fourth, one half*, and in some instances *two thirds* of what they would have been worth at this day, had the *national principle* been followed by a *national* instead of a *parochial practice*. To illustrate this position in some measure (although it cannot be done accurately without arranging the whole parishes of the kingdom, having equal assessments in distinct classes), the following comparative view of the proportion of poor, according to the population of each county, extracted from the parliamentary report of 1803, will forcibly shew the error of the original principle adopted, by the unequal pressure upon real property, which this system has generated.

Counties.		Per Cent. on the Population.
5	In the counties of Cumberland, Cornwall, Lancaster, and Nottingham, and East Riding of Yorkshire, the number of paupers in each 100 of the population	7 (less than $\frac{1}{14}$)
3	In Derby, Middlesex, and Rutland	8 (less than $\frac{1}{13}$)
4	In Lincoln, Northumberland, Stafford, and North Riding of Yorkshire	9 (above $\frac{1}{11}$)
4	West Riding of York, Durham, Monmouth, and Salop	10 (above $\frac{1}{10}$)
4	Bedford, Chester, Somerset, and Westmorland	12 (under $\frac{1}{8}$)
6	Cambridge, Devon, Hereford, Huntingdon, Surry, and Worcester	13 (above $\frac{1}{8}$)

Counties.		Per Cent. on the Population.
3	Herts, Dorset, Kent	14 (above $\frac{1}{7}$)
4	Gloucester, Leicester, Southampton, and Warwick	15 (above $\frac{1}{7}$)
2	Norfolk and Northampton	16 (under $\frac{1}{6}$)
2	Essex and Suffolk	17 (above $\frac{1}{6}$)
1	Buckinghamshire	18 (above $\frac{1}{6}$)
1	Oxfordshire	20 $\frac{1}{5}$
1	Berkshire	21 (above $\frac{1}{5}$)
2	Sussex and Wiltshire	23 (nearly $\frac{1}{4}$)
12	Counties in Wales, averaging	9 (above $\frac{1}{11}$)

In England and Wales, somewhat less than one ninth part of the population were paupers in 1803.

Thus it appears, that while the resident paupers in *Cumberland, Cornwall, Lancaster, Nottingham,* and the *East Riding of Yorkshire,* amount only to one fifteenth part of the population; those in Sussex and Wiltshire are nearly one fourth. So great a disparity strongly marks the inequality of burden, and the mischiefs which have arisen from a *parochial practice,* grafted erroneously on a *national principle.* The facts thus disclosed evidently prove existing trammels. By assimilating the practice to the principle, the path to be pursued would be straight; the existing obstructions to employing the poor would be chiefly removed; their condition would be changed for the better, since the whole of the superintendence would be directed to one object alone, without being embarrassed or interrupted by intricate regulations and legal warfare, namely, the system established by the 43 of Elizabeth, of relieving the impotent, and compelling the idle to work for their subsistence, wherever they happened to reside.

If, however, the difficulties with respect to a general or national assessment, shall be found insuperable, it highly deserves consideration whether it might not be extended to counties *, instead of being li-

* Although particular parishes, in several of the counties, are so heavily burdened as to amount almost to a disinherison of the property, while the poor exhibit an aspect of distress, in such parishes, which is truly shocking; yet it has seldom happened that the average rates of the county at large have been very oppressive, as will be seen by a reference to the following table, formed from the parliamentary returns in 1803.

Counties.	Sums raised 1803.	Amount per £. Average.	Expense per Head in Workhouses.	Expense per Head out of Workhouses
	£.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Bedford	47,484	3 9¾	12 10 6	4 5 11
Berks	96,861	4 11	12 6 5	3 2 11
Bucks	105,379	4 8½	13 13 0	3 15 0
Cambridge	69,011	5 0½	11 3 8	4 5 4
Chester	84,991	3 5½	11 17 0	2 17 7
Cornwall	72,446	4 6½	8 1 9	4 2 3
Cumberland	34,896	2 8	8 4 0	2 17 5
Derby	77,311	4 1½	11 13 3	3 17 6
Devon	179,359	4 8½	8 5 2	2 19 3
Dorset	78,358	4 2½	13 8 6	3 9 10
Durham	71,666	2 4¼	9 11 0	3 1 1
Essex	216,688	5 11½	13 14 0	3 16 10
Gloucester	144,566	3 5	8 15 9	2 12 7
Hereford	60,833	5 8½	13 12 11	3 13 6
Hertford	71,291	4 2¾	12 0 5	2 19 5
Huntingdon	30,953	4 0¼	10 0 7	4 12 6
Kent	255,453	5 2¼	13 18 7	3 6 2
Lancaster	230,766	5 4½	12 12 3	2 12 0
Leicester	107,568	5 2¾	11 4 6	3 13 8
Lincoln	145,848	3 7	13 8 8	4 10 7
Middlesex	490,144	3 5¼	14 15 1	2 10 9
Monmouth	25,048	7 11¼	8 15 2	3 18 3
Norfolk	204,532	5 2	11 5 1	3 4 1
Northampton	120,592	4 7	9 0 0	4 4 11

[Continued on the other side.

mited to parishes as at present. This would accord with the humane principle established by the 43 of

Counties.	Sums raised 1803.	Amount per £. Average.	Expense per Head in Workhouses.	Expense per Head out of Workhouses.
	£.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Northumberland	66,106	1 8¼	9 4 11	3 8 0
Nottingham .	63,200	3 10	9 13 0	3 18 0
Oxford . .	103,560	4 8	10 14 5	3 14 10
Rutland . .	12,674	3 5	14 14 5	5 3 4
Salop . . .	83,477	3 11¾	13 2 4	2 18 1
Somerset . .	151,238	4 2	9 19 0	3 3 10
Southampton	133,429	4 11	11 3 8	2 17 3
Stafford . .	110,624	4 2¼	8 6 7	3 4 5
Suffolk . .	149,646	4 10½	12 12 2	3 1 4
Surry . . .	179,006	5 8	14 5 2	1 17 8
Sussex . . .	206,592	8 7½	12 8 10	3 19 5
Warwick . .	155,205	4 8	10 0 2	3 14 7
Westmorland	17,592	5 2½	8 1 0	3 5 11
Wilts . . .	148,661	4 7½	8 19 8	2 16 0
Worcester .	87,307	5 0½	9 14 9	3 7 3
York, East .	68,325	2 7¾	12 9 8	3 15 7
York, North	76,061	2 6¾	10 13 10	3 4 10
York, West .	277,050	6 2¾	10 3 0	3 1 9
Wales . . .	186,392	7 1½	9 16 4	2 19 6
£	5,348,205 Including the County Rates, &c.	4 5⅛ General Average.	12 3 7 General Average.	3 3 7½ General Average.

N. B. The rental, on which the tax on property is collected, is £33,975,643

The rental, on which the parish rates are collected, is 24,129,134

£9,846,509

Difference nearly one third.

In Wales it is more than two third parts.

It has been already stated, that, on the whole rack rental of the kingdom, including mines, minerals, canals, &c. the assessments upon the scale of the property tax would not amount on an average to more than 2*s*. 10*d*. in the pound.

Elizabeth, which provided that the adjoining parishes should be assessed to support the neighbouring paupers; but the application of it to the counties would do much more for the national interest, since it would go very far towards the abolition of that *gangrene*, the law of settlements, which would be effected at once by making the whole assessments, as they stood in 1803, a national fund, to be reduced *pari passu* as the demands for the support or assistance of the indigent diminished; of which, under a system of general superintendence, divested of the expense and the trammels of settlements and removals, there could not be even the shadow of a doubt. In many instances the county instead of parish assessments would prove a great relief to those parishes in particular, where *the poor are literally compelled to support the indigent*. It is under such circumstances, and in these situations, manifested at *Halstead*, *Braintree*, and *Bocking*, in Essex, *Spitalfields*, in Middlesex, and other poor parishes in different parts of the kingdom, that human misery has assumed its most distressing aspect. These are subjects, however, which require great deliberation, while at the same time they press for an enlightened and quick decision.

Workhouses.

The system of workhouses has been explained in the eighth chapter, and a brief view given of their origin and progress. It is to be feared, that

their failure is, in no small degree, to be attributed to the law of settlements and removals. The fluctuations of paupers have disturbed their general economy, while they have greatly increased the difficulties opposed to the execution of a design originally ill concocted. They were scarcely necessary any where but in large towns, and there, as has been already seen, from a deficient management, they have generally been nurseries of vice, while they have added greatly to the expense of supporting the poor *. There are few aged persons, or even infants, who have not relations and friends (if settlements were abolished) who would be disposed to board and lodge such paupers, at half the expense incurred in these establishments, in the country. The present state of society, however, renders them indispensably necessary, where great bodies of people are congregated together. They are, however, certainly susceptible of much improvement. It has rarely been the boast of the managers that *the work performed* † has been extensive, and the returns ample, towards the relief of the parish;

* See note for the difference of the expense of paupers, in and out of workhouses, pages 266 and 267, by which it appears that an indigent family, consisting of a mother and four children, will cost at least £60 a year. One third of this sum would be thought liberal and sufficient in their own dwellings.

† Christchurch, Spitalfields, is in some measure an exception to the general management of most workhouses, since the paupers in that establishment are all set to work, and contribute by their labour about £950 a year, towards their subsistence, although they consist chiefly of children and aged persons, to the number of about three hundred and thirty.

but they have not seldom plumed themselves on the abundance, and the excellent *quality of the food*, and other necessaries provided, as a criterion whereby a judgment was to be formed of the *good* and *able* management of the institution. That the paupers immured in a workhouse should have good and wholesome food, and a sufficiency for nourishment, there can be no question; but it admits of a doubt how far it is necessary to resort to the finest bread, or the most expensive articles. They certainly require to be new-modelled.

On Manners and Habits in vulgar Life.

The manners and habits of the labouring classes are considered in the ninth chapter. In the improvement of these habits will be found the best safeguard against the miseries of indigence, and the pains and penalties attached to moral and criminal offences.

In taking a general view of both these degraded conditions in society, connected, as they are, closely with each other, it is impossible not to be forcibly struck by the state of indigence and criminality *, in different districts of the kingdom, where the population is nearly the same as exhibited in the following

* It has been already stated (page 46), that the criminal offenders here alluded to only comprise those tried by the judges, in the superior courts. Those tried at the different quarter sessions, by the magistrates, are estimated at 4395 persons, besides the 4605 sent for trial, in 1805, to the superior courts.

COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of nearly an equal Population in one Part of the Kingdom with the same in another.

Counties.	Population.	Offenders	Paupers.	Counties.	Population.	Offenders	Paupers.
Middlesex . . .	818,129	1217	63,173	Yorkshire . . .	858,892	245	77,661
Kent	307,624	210	41,632	Lancashire . . .	672,731	371	46,200
Surry	269,043	199	36,138	Stafford	239,153	91	22,510
Essex	226,437	144	38,337	Devon	343,001	96	43,674
Gloucester, including Bristol	250,809	141	36,904	Lincoln	208,557	58	18,845
Warwick	208,190	160	30,200	Somerset	273,750	106	33,979
Norfolk	273,371	163	42,707	Chester	191,751	30	22,152
Suffolk	210,431	109	36,110	Durham	160,361	27	15,307
Sussex	159,311	105	37,076	Cornwall	188,269	45	12,853
Wilts	185,107	75	42,128	Salop	167,639	79	17,306
Hampshire . . .	219,656	147	32,581	Worcester . . .	139,330	51	18,896
Nottingham . . .	140,350	74	9,806	Northampton . .	131,757	42	20,534
Leicester	130,081	47	19,154	Northumberland .	157,101	38	14,304
Derby	161,142	39	13,167	Cumberland . . .	117,230	18	8,445
Dorset	115,319	38	15,783	Bucks	107,444	33	19,650
Berks	109,215	62	22,088	Cambridge	89,346	40	11,294
Oxford	109,620	38	21,025	Hereford	89,191	31	11,779
Herts	97,577	43	13,349	Monmouth . . .	45,582	20	4,479
Bedford	63,393	20	7,276	Westmorland . .	41,617	6	4,615
Huntingdon . . .	37,568	15	4,746	Rutland	16,356	4	1,338
South Wales, 6 counties	288,761	50	23,384	North Wales, 6 counties	252,785	28	28,131
	4,381,134	3096	586,764		4,491,846	1509	453,952

It should seem, from this comparative statement, that criminal offences are much less frequent, and consequently less numerous, in remote counties than in those nearer the metropolis, in proportion to their population; and it is also discovered, through this medium, that, contrary to the generally received opinion, the number of paupers in the counties which are chiefly agricultural greatly exceed those where manufactures prevail. Thus in Kent and Surry, where the aggregate population is 576,687, there appears to be 77,770 paupers, while in Lancashire, where the population is 672,731, the paupers relieved are only 46,200. The paupers in Dorset are nearly double those in Cumberland, although the population does not materially differ. This may probably arise from the more frugal habits of the labouring people in the latter county, and their superior knowledge of the culinary art, applicable to vulgar life.

A greater boon could not be conferred upon the labouring people, than a general circulation of the art of frugal cookery. Potatoes, dressed in various ways, with a small portion of meat-fat, butter, onions, and other vegetables (composing perhaps nearly two thirds of the food of the northern peasantry and other labourers, rendering only one half the quantity of bread-corn necessary), were in very general use nearly half a century before they were much known or consumed in the counties south of the river Trent; and to this day the consump-

tion of this nourishing, frugal, and wholesome food, is by no means general or extensive in many of the southern districts, and the mode of dressing it is very little known.

In most of the counties north of the Trent, and in the whole of Scotland and Ireland, it would have been impossible to have supported the increased population from the bread-corn produced in the country; and had not the chasms been filled up by the general use of potatoes, as a substitute, there must have been many partial famines, such as were experienced by our ancestors. In the metropolis, the consumption of this useful vegetable has gradually increased within the last thirty years, from a very inconsiderable quantity, to about one thousand two hundred tons a week, excepting during the months June and July, when the price is generally beyond the reach of the poor; but at this period other vegetables are generally very cheap and abundant. This increased consumption, in a great measure, arises from the influx of labourers from the remote parts of the empire, who have been accustomed to this food; and to this cause perhaps may be in some degree attributed the disproportion between the number of paupers in Middlesex, compared with the population in all the adjoining counties. And the same reasons may also be partly assigned why the number of paupers in Lancashire, where potatoes are the general food of the people, are less in proportion to the

population than in most of the southern counties of England. It is impossible to form any adequate conception of the difference of expense in supporting the family of a labourer, where a knowledge of frugal cookery prevails. And it is perhaps not too much to say, that the labouring population of the northern counties of Great Britain (whatever opinion may have prevailed to the contrary) have not only a greater variety of food, but, what is of more importance, a greater abundance of nourishing diet, than the labourers in the southern districts enjoy, although their earnings are supposed to average at least one third more, and in many instances double the amount received by the northern peasantry, labourers, and handicrafts.

Nothing is of more importance, as it relates to the habits and manners of the poor, than the diffusion of that species of knowledge, which shall enable them to acquire the greatest extent of comfort and abundance, at the least possible expense:—and hopes are entertained that by the circulation of receipts, through the medium of the proposed police gazette, this object may be in a great measure attained; more especially when accompanied by appropriate observations, on the waste of a poor man's income, arising from an improvident consumption of beer and spirits (producing intoxication) purchased at an alehouse; or on the want of economy in dressing a

miserable portion of animal food, obtained at a high price from a chandler's shop, often rancid and of a bad quality, without a proper proportion of vegetables.

It is by such means that the poor are to be enabled to help themselves, and thereby to experience that condition of independent poverty which spurns at parochial relief. It is to this laudable spirit that this country is to be indebted for an accession of productive labour, and for the means of increasing the comforts and improving the habits of the labouring classes.

Enough has been stated to demonstrate the incalculable importance of such a favourable result to the whole of the British empire. The insular situation of Great Britain and Ireland gives to the nation at large more of the features of a distinct family than perhaps in any other country in the world. We possess abundant means to make this family happy and comfortable. In this respect our detached situation, admitting of no very extended mixture of foreigners, is peculiarly favourable. It is the province of those assigned to guide the helm of state to avail themselves of every useful fact (always accessible through the mediums suggested in this work) disclosing the state of *manners, habits, mode of living, wages of labour,* and *means of subsistence,* in every district in the British empire; to ascertain accurately such pressures as may exist, and the causes

which have produced them, that measures may be adopted for their early removal.

It has been already seen, that, from the resources the nation possesses for productive labour, there ought to exist in the country no individual in the vigour of life, whose industry (where there is no surplus labour in store) ought not to constitute the means of subsistence, excepting under those misfortunes and contingencies which produce indigence, arising from innocent and unavoidable causes.

To guide, by imperceptible means, the working classes into channels calculated to enable them to render their labour productive, is the true essence of government; since, as has been often repeated, it is by labour alone that all classes of the community subsist, and the returns for this labour should be sufficient to enable those who perform it to live without adventitious or parochial aid.

Such a state of things has however existed in this country; namely, that labourers in the prime of life, after exerting their utmost strength, aided by such an accession of industry as could be derived from different branches of the same family, could not exist without parochial relief.

Nothing in the general economy of any country on earth ought to excite a greater degree of alarm, or more forcibly arrest the attention of the statesman and politician; since, if in any considerable district of the country, the labourer cannot obtain

somewhat more than is sufficient to support a medium family, under frugal management, this useful class could not last beyond a single generation * !

It has been shewn, in the progress of this work, that no general law which human wisdom can frame, can be safely or usefully extended to so complicated and diversified a branch of political economy, as the regulation of the wages of labour. Nothing that can be devised will be effectual, divested of the aid of a watchful and systematic superintendence.

Without such aid the most enlightened and laborious statesmen can do but little, since through no other medium is it possible to obtain the benefit of accurate and minute facts, or the judgment of intelligent individuals, employing their minds on such subjects, as to the measures best calculated to meet the pressures as they arise, with suggestions calculated to operate as a remedy.

It is an axiom in politics, that the legislature should do nothing to disturb the exertions of individuals, aided by capitals, in every fair pursuit to improve their condition, since such improvements tend to the general good. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, upon this principle, ought to experience no legislative obstruction. To the effect of this principle we owe much of the success, which, in these great branches of indus-

* See page 14.

try, has elevated this country above all the nations in the world.

In the operation, however, of such a principle, a power of individual exertion is implied, susceptible of that species of impulse which leads to a successful issue. It differs widely from the principle which applies to the labouring classes; who require to be assisted and guided into the way of helping themselves and of maintaining their independence; *first*, by a religious and moral education; *secondly*, by a proper introduction into life, by acquiring a knowledge of some useful employment; *thirdly*, by provident habits and forethought; and, *fourthly*, by such information as shall enable them to make the most of their earnings for the benefit of their families.

Although a sufficiency of wages is indispensably necessary to enable a poor man to exist with a degree of comfort suited to his condition in life, yet nothing is so difficult as to fix a standard. An indiscriminate and general rise of wages to that point which might be supposed sufficient, would be dangerous in the extreme, while in the result it would be found not to produce in any degree an amelioration of the condition of the poor. The criterion is only to be found in the proportion which the *demand* bears to the *supply*. In this respect, all that is practicable is to hold out every encouragement to the five great sources of industry, which we possess above every other country in Europe; namely, first,

agriculture; second, *mines, minerals, canals, and other works*; third, *manufactures in all their ramified branches*; fourth, *home fisheries*; fifth, *navigation, foreign fisheries, and commerce.* While these branches flourish and extend themselves, the demand for labour will increase; and as this demand vibrates, so must the wages of labour. The interest of all persons engaged in these branches is to extend them as far as possible, since on this depends the profit or reward they expect to receive. They cannot, however, extend their respective objects of industry without *labourers*; and therefore it becomes their interest to employ as many as possible.

In many instances the working classes enjoy advantages which do not in general attach to their employers; since, when a stagnation in one branch of industry prevails, an increased demand may be found in another, where their assistance may be necessary, provided they are not disturbed by the trammels of parish settlements: hence it follows that there is frequently a twofold advantage; and upon the whole, little doubt can be entertained, where the resource for subsistence, in proportion to the population, is certainly greater than in any country in Europe, and where the annual gains are greater than any other nation enjoys, that every individual able and willing to work could find (with the exception of the casualties detailed in the 11th page) sufficient means of subsistence,

provided the labour was regularly performed, and the earnings frugally and discreetly managed.

Difficulties are, however, opposed to this, arising from the imperfections of human nature, from immoral and vicious habits, and from the other casualties producing indigence, arising from culpable causes, as detailed also in page 11.

The sources from which these difficulties have sprung are explained in the preceding chapters, and remedies are proposed, which bear either directly or collaterally on the whole.

In the culpable causes of indigence, and in the law of settlements, we trace the origin of most of the evils which have produced the extraordinary results disclosed in this work, and in the removal of which, every object would be attained of which a state of civil society is susceptible.

To remove them wholly, is perhaps too much to hope for. It is, however, consoling to discover *the possibility of a considerable abridgment; a probability of lessening the whole, and a certainty of greatly improving the condition, and of increasing the comforts of the labouring people*; improving the resources of the state, by augmenting the quantum of productive industry, and generally extending and diffusing the national happiness.

APPENDIX.

Observations on licensed public Houses.

THE prevailing habit among the labouring people, in every district in England and Wales, of spending the chief part of their leisure time in alehouses, renders it an interesting inquiry, how far these places of entertainment are regulated upon principles calculated to prevent those evils and abuses, which, by affecting the morals, the health, and the domestic comfort of so large and so valuable a part of the community, may ultimately, by gradual and perhaps unforeseen steps, destroy the best props of the state.

The legislature, at an early period, when society and manners might be supposed to have made little progress, appears to have been impressed with a sense of injury to be dreaded, since by the act of the 5 of Edward VI. cap. 26, two hundred and fifty-three years ago, alehouses were placed under the particular direction of magistrates, who were required "*to take bond and surety for good behaviour, against using unlawful games*, and the maintenance of good order." The sum forfeited on conviction by this act was ten pounds, which has continued without alteration to this day, although, from the great difference in the value

of money, £60 bail at this period would be nearly the same as £10 in the reign of Edward VI.

If it became so interesting an object to the legislature at so remote a period, when the morals of the people were probably less contaminated, and when the number of public houses must have been comparatively few in number, how important has it now become to attend minutely to this particular branch of police, when it is known that there are about 50,000 licensed alehouses in England and Wales, constantly holding out seductive lures to the labouring classes, in every part of the country * ! Anciently they were merely considered as victualling houses for strangers and travellers; and hence it is that in technical language all licensed publicans are denominated *victuallers*. In modern times they are become the general receptacle of the

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	Licensed Houses.
* In and near the metropolis. In the city of London	820
In the hamlets of the Tower of London and Tower liberty	1050
In the city and liberty of Westminster	990
In the division of Holborn	750
In the division of Finsbury	390
In the division of Kensington	260
In the borough of Southwark and the vicinity	950
	5,210
In the towns and villages in the vicinity of the metropolis, about	790
	6,000
In the other cities, towns, and counties in England and Wales, supposed about	44,000
Total, including taverns, coffeehouses, inns, &c.	50,000

vicious, the idle, and the profligate; and hence it is that they constitute one of the principal sources of those mischiefs which have given an unfavourable turn to the manners of the working classes.

In vulgar life, it is the first ambition of the youth, when approaching towards an adult state, to learn to smoke tobacco. When this accomplishment is acquired, he finds himself qualified to lounge, and waste his time in the tap-room. It is here that his mind receives the first impressions of vice. The force of evil example is powerful. He insensibly imitates the destructive propensities of his seniors in point of age, until at length he is initiated in all the mysteries of low gaming, contracting at the same time habits of idleness and dissipation, which render him afterwards *a bad husband, a bad father, and a bad member of society.*

But the evil does not rest here. Numerous families of labourers lodge with their wives and children in common alehouses, in the metropolis, and probably in most of the large cities and towns in different parts of the kingdom; while, of late years, the females, whose mothers and grandmothers would have been ashamed to enter a tap-room, now indiscriminately mix with the males, and unblushingly listen to all the rude and often obscene discourse which circulates freely in these haunts of vice and idleness.

In the year 1794, it appears that 1,132,147

barrels of malt liquor were brewed in the metropolis, by thirty-one porter-brewers, and by thirteen brewers of ale and amber, for its consumption alone, after deducting 265,208 barrels exported by sea and consumed in other parts of the country; by which it appears that at that period 158,500,580 of pots of porter and ale were drank in the metropolis and the vicinity, for which, at the then price of 3½*d.* average per pot, the consumers paid annually £2,311,466 5*s.* 10*d.*

In the year 1806, the total quantity of porter, ale, and beer, brewed for sale in the metropolis, according to similar returns from the Excise-office, amounted to 1,454,192 barrels, exclusive of 441,320 barrels of small beer: deducting about 254,192 barrels for exportation and country sale, there remain 1,200,000 barrels or 168,000,000 pots of porter and ale, for the consumption of the metropolis, which, at the present price of 5*d.* a pot, amounts to £3,500,000.

It has been already stated (page 30), that the annual consumption of beer, drank in, or purchased from public houses, may probably amount to £12,000,000 a year, and home-made spirits to about £5,000,000.

Through this medium are seen some very leading features in the character and habits of the labouring classes of the people; and perhaps nothing can more strongly demonstrate the importance of an

attention to this branch of police, than the circumstances already described.

Licensed public houses in England and Wales, but particularly in the metropolis and in large towns, admit of a division into the following classes:

1. Large inns and posting houses, in town and country.
2. Large inns, in towns, for the reception of travellers, coaches, and waggons.
3. Taverns and houses of entertainment.
4. Hotels for lodging strangers.
5. Coffeehouses.
6. Tea-gardens, licensed to sell ale and other liquors.
7. Liquor-shops.
8. Common alehouses.

The most prominent abuses which are found to exist, particularly in large towns, are these following:

1. *Liquor-shops*, where no beer is sold, and where a beer license is not seldom surreptitiously obtained, without which a spirit license cannot be granted by the commissioners of excise. These shops are excessive nuisances. They promote dram-drinking to an incredible extent, and all the train of miseries incident to habits ruinous to the morals of the inferior orders of society. As these shops are carried on at a comparatively small expense, no credit being given, and consequently no risk of bad debts, they are eagerly sought for. The customers

are numerous, and the sales extensive; and so fascinating are the charms they possess, that the last rag is often carried to the pawnbroker, to enable the unfortunate victim to this vice to enjoy the momentary gratification of a glass or two of gin, which is dealt out in a moment to one customer after another, while the means of payment remain. They are decidedly contrary to both the spirit and letter of the act of Parliament *, which permits no spirits to be sold, except in licensed houses, where ale and beer are also retailed. The magistrates of the metropolis have, within the last fourteen years, laudably exerted themselves in suppressing these houses; but in several parishes and wards they are still suffered to exist, and it is to be feared also in many of the provincial towns.

2. *Partial liquor-shops*, with private doors or detached bars, where an inconsiderable quantity of beer is sold, merely as a cover. These are nearly as michievous as the total liquor-shops, since they deal out their poison with the same privacy, and produce the same evil consequences; and therefore

* By the 17 George II. cap. 17, no shopkeepers, as such, are allowed to retail any spirituous liquors, but only those who keep *taverns, victualling-houses, inns, coffeehouses,* or *alehouses.* This act originated in a complaint made to Parliament by the medical gentlemen, in the year 1744, stating, that great numbers of His Majesty's subjects died in consequence of the ready access to gin, at the numerous liquor-shops then existing in every part of the metropolis.

it has been a desideratum with the magistrates, in many districts, to refuse licenses in all cases where the bar is not removed to the centre of the tap-room, and all private doors shut up.

Liquor-shops, of every description, are highly injurious. They are no convenience to the public, as spirits can always be obtained at the house of every licensed victualler. They promote secret dram-drinking, and seduce young men and women, who would be ashamed to be seen drinking spirits in a public tap-room. It is partly through this medium, at first, that the morals of the youth of both sexes are corrupted. In every point of view, it is fit that such houses should be suppressed. They are highly injurious to the regular alehouses, who are subject to a much greater expense in carrying on their business, while they tend much to the corruption of morals.

3. *Alehouses with insufficient trade to support them.* It is calculated that there are above one thousand houses of this description in the metropolis and its vicinity, which change tenants twice, thrice, and not seldom four times in the course of a year; and it is to be feared that this will be found to be the case in every town and village in the country—a strong proof that by far too many houses are licensed. The injury arising from this source is excessive. Many virtuous young men and women from the country, who have married and put their little savings together, with a view

to stock a public house, are often ruined before they have been six months in business. The competition among brewers and distillers to monopolize every house which has been heretofore licensed, operates very injuriously to their own interest, since by these floating houses of insufficient trade, great losses are frequently sustained by the insolvency of the tenants, who are often induced to suffer disorders, and to encourage every irregularity tending to the corruption of morals, with a view to force a trade, which afterwards sends numbers of them to gaol.

Some years back the author accurately ascertained that one hundred and twenty-seven alehouses, in the Tower hamlets, had been occupied by four hundred and ninety-eight tenants, in the course of four years!

It requires at least a neighbourhood of fifty families to support a medium public house; yet, in the city of London, the average is about twenty-five houses to each licensed publican.

In the Tower hamlets the average is about twenty-four to each publican.

In the Tower liberty only seventeen to each publican.

And in the whole of the metropolis and its environs, it is calculated that there is about one public house to every thirty-seven families.

The means of supply, therefore, are so much greater than the natural demand, that publicans,

in order to obtain customers and to extend their sales of liquor, are induced to hold out lures, through the medium of various artifices, by which the morals of the youth of both sexes are corrupted:—thieves, burglars, highwaymen, pick-pockets, and common prostitutes are harboured and encouraged in such houses; low games are introduced, and every device resorted to, which can excite a disposition to expend money, producing intoxication, quarrels, lewdness, and every species of profligacy *.

When publicans thus get themselves entangled in a concern, which requires extensive sales of beer and spirits to enable them to pay rent and taxes, and to cover the heavy losses they sustain by pewter pots stolen, in the course of a year †; they seem to have no alternative, in houses of bad

* See Observations on public Houses, published by Dilly, anno 1796—at Hatchard's, Piccadilly.

† The public in general were astonished, when the author, in his Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, stated the value of pewter pots, stolen from the alehouses in the metropolis and the villages adjoining, at £56,000 a year. The publicans themselves, however, in an application to Parliament for relief, three years after, stated in evidence, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that their loss amounted to £100,000 annually—a shocking proof of the vast extent of petty offences and the depraved state of morals in vulgar life: a state of turpitude which will increase, so long as above three thousand old iron shops are suffered to exist in the metropolis, without regulation or control, purchasing every thing that is offered without asking questions.

trade, but to extend their sales in every possible way, whatever mischiefs it may produce in corrupting the morals of the people.

As the prevention of indigence in so great a degree depends on the proper regulation and watchful superintendence of licensed alehouses; and as they are known to lodge a very considerable proportion of the labouring people, with their families (at least in the metropolis), it is of the greatest importance that the laws now in force should be carried rigidly into execution. A consolidation of those laws, adapting them more particularly to the present state of society, and simplifying their general structure, would be no small boon to the community, in the general improvement of morals. The security of £10 at present required, and continued since the act of Edw. VI. is a mere mockery. Fortunately the power of the justices to withhold licenses, has at all times operated as a considerable restraint; but for want of *uniformity* in establishing *rules* applicable to the changes which are constantly taking place in the manners and habits of the people, and to meet the new and mischievous devices which are resorted to, it would certainly be desirable that such *rules* should be *universal*, extending to every division or hundred in the country, since it often happens, that while good order is enforced in one district, a relaxed discipline prevails in another, to which common thieves, receivers of stolen goods,

and other depraved characters, are induced to resort, with a view to become publicans. The law has indeed prescribed certain regulations, requiring certificates of *sober life* and *conversation*; but such testimonials are obtained in each parish, at the expense of half a crown, or a crown, to the beadle, who procures the signature of the minister, churchwardens, and overseers, as a mere matter of course.

Upon a full investigation of this interesting subject, above ten years ago, and aided by subsequent experience, the author ventures to submit the following regulations (to be varied according to local circumstances), as likely to remove many of the evils which arise from ill-regulated public houses.

General Rules.

1. That no new house should be licensed as an alehouse, unless it can be shewn (in towns) that there is an accession of fifty additional houses at least, requiring this accommodation in the neighbourhood; or that such new house (if in the country) has become absolutely necessary in consequence of an *increased population, canals, alteration of roads,* or other improvements; or (in either case) that such new house is substituted in the place of another, less conveniently situated, from which a license has been withheld.

2. That licenses should be withdrawn from such alehouses as appear regularly to have changed

tenants twice or thrice every twelve months, in a course of years. Where, upon full investigation, it shall appear that these changes have arisen merely from insufficient trade to support a family, and not from the inferior quality of the liquors sold, or want of attention in the publicans, it is plain to demonstration that the continuance of the licenses is no less injurious to the brewers, distillers, and occupiers, than mischievous to the morals of the working classes, since they become lures to entrap the ignorant and unwary, and to increase the general calamity, which has brought so many publicans to a gaol, and their families to misery and want.

3. That licenses should be uniformly withheld (as contrary to law) from all *liquor-shops*; and also from such as have no proper accommodation for the sale of beer and victuals; and where a small quantity only is retailed merely as a cover, to obtain an ale license for the sole and only purpose of exhibiting it at the Excise-office, without which a license to sell spirits (which is the only object in view) cannot be obtained.

These general rules, if uniformly adopted in every district of the country, but particularly in large and populous cities, would produce a very salutary effect, protecting on the one hand the brewers and distillers from the heavy losses incurred by numerous bankruptcies, and also innocent individuals, particularly from the country, who are induced to invest the little savings of many

years in this treacherous property, which is often lost in the course of a single year, and all their hopes blasted, by debts contracted beyond the extent of their capitals, which they are often totally unable to discharge, before they are aware of their real situation.

But the most important consideration is, to prevent licensed alehouses from becoming a medium of *danger to the state*, or a source of evil to the community, by affording facilities to the commission of crimes, or receptacles of idleness and profligacy, corrupting the morals of the labouring people.

For the purpose of preventing these evils it would be of great importance that publicans, in every district or division of the country, should receive their licenses yearly, on the express condition that they shall in all respects conform to the following, or other similar and appropriate

Rules and Orders.

I.

No licensed publican shall permit, *on any pretence whatsoever*, any debating or political club, for the purpose of seditious or traitorous designs against the government or constitution of the country, to assemble in his house, nor suffer any books or papers to be read, or songs to be sung, of a seditious or immoral tendency, on pain of losing the license, in addition to the hazard of

conviction and punishment, according to the nature of the offence.

II.

No publican shall permit journeymen, or working people of any description, to assemble in his house, for the purpose of unlawful combinations or confederacies, which may disturb or obstruct the general industry of the country, on any pretence whatsoever.

III.

No pay-tables shall be permitted in any licensed alehouse, since journeymen and labourers are thereby often enticed improvidently to spend a large proportion of their weekly earnings, which ought to be set apart for the support of their families.

IV.

No publican shall hold out allurements to apprentices, journeymen, or labourers, by the introduction of unlawful games into his house, or premises, such as *cards*, *dice*, *domino*, *shuffle-board*, *what's o'clock*, *four corners*, *tables*, *mississippi*, *draughts*, *Sibley table*, *bumble puppy*, *ringing at the bell*, or any other alluring game: nor shall he permit *boxing*, *badger-baiting*, *cock-fighting*, or any other noxious amusement, by which criminal, profligate, and disorderly persons shall be collected together, corrupting the morals of the labouring people, and seducing them from their

useful occupations to waste their time in idleness and dissipation.

V.

No publican shall suffer any person to remain tippling until drunk: nor shall any beer, spirits, or other liquor, be drawn to persons entering the house in a state of intoxication; nor to the wives or families of labourers, who must on no account be permitted to tipple in alehouses.

VI.

No publican shall harbour in his or her house any *smuggler*, *duffer*, *dealers in*, *or utterers of base money*, *lottery insurers*, nor any known or reputed thieves, rogues, vagabonds, common prostitutes, or loose, idle, and abandoned characters, whereby facilities may be afforded to the commission of penal and criminal offences.

VII.

Every publican is strictly enjoined to shut up his or her house during the hours of divine service, on *Sunday*, *Good Friday*, and *Christmas Day*, and when so shut up, to abstain from drawing beer or other liquors, to any person whatever, and to permit no person to enter the house, except members of the family and parish officers, or constables, until divine service is over.

VIII.

Every publican is enjoined to shut up his or her

house regularly at eleven o'clock at night, and not to open it until a convenient hour after daylight in the morning.

IX.

It is particularly expected, by the licensing magistrates, that all publicans shall constantly keep in their recollection, that they have entered into recognizance, and given security, that they shall keep good rule and order in their respective houses, during the term of the license, and that such order cannot be preserved unless they themselves shew a good example to others, by the most perfect sobriety at all times, and by not suffering profane swearing, obscene language, or any disorder whatever to take place. All publicans convicted of being at any time drunk, are disqualified for holding a license for three years.

X.

No publican shall be suffered with impunity to mix or adulterate his liquors, or to sell ale, beer, or spirits, but by the legal ale and spirit measures, according to the standard in the Exchequer; nor shall admittance be refused to parish officers or constables, in the discharge of their duty, in seeing that this rule is strictly obeyed.

XI.

In cities and towns where the military are quartered, all publicans are strictly enjoined not to

permit soldiers to tipple in their houses, or to have liquor of any description after ten o'clock at night, nor to draw liquor at any time to a soldier in a state of intoxication; neither shall any publican run scores with soldiers, on the credit of their clothes or military accoutrements; nor allow Chelsea pensioners to get in debt for liquor, on the credit of their forthcoming pensions.

XII.

It is to be clearly understood, that wherever it shall appear in evidence, before the justices appointed to renew licenses, that any or either of these rules and orders have been infringed, the publicans offending will be considered as unworthy of all confidence, and shall not be intrusted with a license on the following year.

These general rules may be abridged, varied, or extended, according to local circumstances, while a general co-operation in carrying them into execution, would prove a great advantage to the labouring people, in every part of the country. It has been already seen how large a proportion of their earnings, and also of time equally valuable to themselves and families, is wasted in these haunts of idleness and dissipation, now no longer conveniences for lodging and victualling strangers and travellers; but receptacles to promote sottishness,

to sap the foundation of all morals, to debilitate the constitution, to generate diseases, and to destroy the best props of the state.

The regulations thus proposed, as a means of prevention, are in strict unison with the existing laws, and only go in aid of the measures which the legislature has, in almost every reign for the last two centuries, most anxiously enjoined, and authorized to be enforced by penalties, more or less severe.

By 7 James I. cap. 10, Any alehouse keeper convicted of drunkenness, besides the other penalties of the law, for this offence, shall be entirely disabled from holding a license for three years.

By 1 James I. cap. 7, and 1 Charles I. cap. 4, If a publican permits tippling in his house, he forfeits 10*s.* for each offence.

By 21 James I. cap. 7, Persons tippling and wasting time in alehouses forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* for each offence; persons getting drunk shall forfeit 5*s.* for each offence, or shall be put in the stocks; and constables neglecting their duty therein shall forfeit 10*s.*

By 10 and 12 William III. cap. 15, Retailers of ale and beer who shall not sell the same in the full ale quart or pint, according to the standard in the Exchequer, shall forfeit from 10*s.* to 40*s.* for each offence.

By 10 and 11 William III. cap. 24, Persons exercising their ordinary callings on the Lord's Day, except selling milk and mackerel, and dressing meat in victualling houses and cook's shops, and except works of necessity and charity, shall forfeit from 5*s*. to 20*s*. for each offence.

By 17 George II. cap. 5, Persons giving shelter to rogues and vagabonds forfeit from 10*s*. to 40*s*. for each offence.

By 19 George II. cap. 21, Persons convicted of profane cursing or swearing shall forfeit *one shilling* for each offence, if a labourer, soldier, or seaman; *two shillings* if under the degree of a gentleman; and *five shillings* if of, or above the degree of a gentleman.

By 9 George II. cap. 35, Publicans harbouring persons against whom any process has issued, for obstructing officers of excise, forfeit £100.

By 26 George II. cap. 31, Publicans suffering unlawful games in their houses, or disorders therein, shall forfeit their recognizance, and be disqualified from keeping an alehouse for three years.

By 26 George II. cap. 11, Publicans suffering journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices, to game in their houses, forfeit 40*s*. for the first, and £10 for every subsequent offence.

By 30 George II. cap. 31, Suspected persons offering goods for sale, and refusing to give a satisfactory account how they obtained the same, are to be detained and carried before a justice.

By 14 George III. cap. 90, Publicans harbouring watchmen or patroles, while on duty, or suffering them to tipple, forfeit 20*s.* for the *first*, 40*s.* for the *second*, and £5 for the *third* offence.

By 22 George III. cap. 47, All persons not having a license who shall deal in tickets or chances, or take insurances in the lottery, shall be deemed rogues and vagabonds, and punished as such.

By 39 George III. cap. 79, Persons suffering unlawful combinations and confederacies in their houses forfeit £5; for the second, may be transported. Publicans who suffer seditious or immoral publications to be read in their houses, forfeit their licenses.

By 41 George III. cap. 11, Persons buying, receiving, exchanging, or detaining arms, clothes, or regimental necessaries, shall forfeit £5 for each offence—assisting or harbouring a deserter £20 *.

* See a Treatise on the Functions and Duties of a Constable, by the author of this work, published by J. Mawman, in the Poultry, and J. Hatchard, Piccadilly, anno 1803, for a short exposition of the laws applicable to moral, political, and criminal offences. Although this Treatise has been avowedly written for the general instruction of peace officers; yet, from the manner in which the subject has been handled, it will be found to contain information useful and important to every individual composing the middling and higher classes of society.

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